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Quest for the Original Gītā

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Quest for the Original Gītā

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Introduction

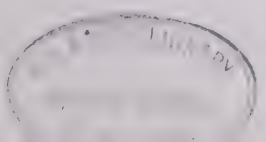
THIS AGE AND THE GĪTĀ

Continuous Influence

If there is any one book which has influenced most the mind of India, it is the Bhagavad-Gītā. The elite of India as well as the common man are directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, influenced by the Divine Song. All great men, outstanding writers, philosophers and saints are influenced by the Gītā, and through them the masses have imbibed the important teachings and truths of the poem. Every vernacular of India has at least one popular commentary on this book, and through its repeated recitations, the leading ideas of the poem are on the lips of pandits and peasants. Every century has produced a few original commentaries and interpretations. When an Indian patriot went to jail or the gallows, he had the Gītā in his hand and mind. When peasants or old women suffer a grievous loss, their natural exclamation is, Kṛṣṇārpaṇamastu, Surrendered to Kṛṣṇa. Thus the echo of the Gītā composed twenty-six centuries ago still resounds in the hearts of the Indian people.

Autobiography of Religion

The Gītā is the autobiography of India's religion covering half a millennium, from about 700 B. C. to 200 B. C. It depicts the internal conflicts and compromises, diversities and unifications, that existed during different periods in religion, philosophy and society. The transitions that have taken place in the spiritual life of the people are implicit in this short but very pregnant poem. We can see the gradual transformation of the abstract Brahman



of the Upaniṣads into the four-handed but human form of Kṛṣṇa, armed with missiles and weapons to strike down the enemies of Dharma. We can see the gradual percolation of the privileges of salvation, coming down from the learned pandits and sages to the simple peasants and repentant criminals. We can also feel the emphasis shifting from individual salvation to a humanitarian and philanthropic sentiment, an anxiety for the uplift of all living creatures. We can trace the transition of religious practices and principles from the ritualistic Yajñas of the Vedic type to the simple worship of Divine symbols or idols with nothing but water, leaves and flowers. It shows the progressive, dynamic and creative character of India's spiritual life. Every age has produced a philosopher, indifferent to his name and fame, like an unknown soldier, who has taken up the challenge of his times; who has resolved the conflicts and diversities of his society with a new synthesis, based on and rooted in the past, and thus made acceptable to high and low. The Gītā is an important source-book for students of the history of religion, philosophy, literature and society.

Outside India

The Gītā is a popular work among non-Indian scholars of Indology and oriental studies. Since 1775, when the first English translation by Wilkinson appeared in India, most of the major languages of the world have published one or more translations of the book. Western philosophers and thinkers like Schopenhauer, Humboldt and Emerson were charmed by this poem. Directly or indirectly, the thoughts of the Gītā have touched writers and thinkers of the world. For the solution of the psychological problems of modern man, thinkers are gradually arriving at the truths preached by the Gītā centuries ago. Robert Browning echoes the message of this very poem when, in "The Ring and the Book" he sings :

> God has given me so much of judgment and no more,
> Ask him if I was slack in the use thereof:
> For I am aware, it is the seed of act God holds appraising in his hollow palm,
> And not the act, grown great thence,

Leafage and branchage on the world below,
Which hollow eyes admire.

Distinguishing Features

What is the nature of the impact of the Gītā on the Indian mind ? It has become so much a part of the every-day life and thought of the Indian people, that they themselves are unaware of the Gītā living within their nerves and hearts ! To mention a few of the most outstanding aspects of this influence, I shall select the following five :

Democratisation and popularisation of philosophy and religion.
The message of devotion to duty, irrespective of personal gains and consequences.
The attitude of supra-dualism in life, rising head and shoulders above the conflicts of success and failure, gain and loss, honour and dishonour, pleasure and pain, friend and foe, and so on.
Psychological techniques of mental discipline and self-control for moral purification.
Humanitarian and philanthropic attitudes embracing all humanity and all living creatures.

These are the features which should distinguish the genuine Indian way of living and thinking.

A World of Concepts

The peculiarity of the Saṁskṛt language is that one word, phrase or line of verse can express a great thought in a capsule form. Consequently the 700 verses of the Gītā are able to hold numerous ideas of philosophy and religion. Even one or a few of these ideas, if practised in every-day life, can transform the character of any individual. The reader has to make his own choice of the concepts which appeal to him most. The Gītā was useful for the age in which it was written; it is useful for our age; it will be useful for the future also. It has elements for all places and all times. For the sake of easy interpretation I divide these concepts into three categories : concepts with historical significance; concepts embodying universal beliefs; and concepts with universal application and value.

Concepts with Historical Significance

There are a few concepts which were relevant to the age in which the poem was written. For the society in which the poet lived they were living issues, which agitated those people like economic and political issues of today. For our generation they have little meaning. These concepts should be regarded with respect as problems which influenced our ancestors. They show the conflicts through which the human mind has passed. The concepts of Yajña, Saṁnyāsa, two paths of the soul after death, the days and nights of Brahman, ideas of sin, sacredness of certain objects, the fourfold social system; such ideas have a historical significance and should be regarded as our common heritage.

Concepts embodying Universal Beliefs

There are in the Gītā certain faiths and beliefs which are universal, found all over the world in many religions and denominations. One may or may not be convinced about their truth. But they deserve to be treated with respect and reverence, because they mould and guide the life of many people. It is necessary for a cultured person to know the spiritual and moral concepts which are the springs of action of a large part of humanity. Such universal beliefs are a part of the Gītā and deserve to be carefully studied, e. g., the existence of the soul, immortality, re-birth or transmigration of the soul, the Universal Spirit, the individual Soul and the Universal Soul, incarnations or human forms of God, the path of devotion, worship of idols and symbols, theism, monism, dualism of matter and soul and so on. These concepts were the product of deep reflection and introspection. It is only recently that scientific and objective research is being carried on to test their validity.

Concepts with Universal Application and Value

Apart from the concepts falling under the first two categories, there is a large body of ideas in the Gītā which have universal application, for the whole world, for all times. The ethical and moral truths which are scattered all over the poem are a treasure and wealth of all people of all ages. They deserve to be understood, possessed and practised by every individual and by every

society. There is no option about them. They are a must for all. Some of these concepts are : devotion to work with a sense of worship, equipoise or a supra-dualistic attitude under situations of conflict, self-control, mental discipline, concentration, concepts of creative knowledge, social equality, ethics of action and motive, social integration, moral qualities, responsibility of elders in society, elevating concepts in life, the beauty and terror in nature, the search for ultimate truths in the universe, tolerance for other creeds, love for humanity and living creatures and many other similar ideas. These concepts are guide-lines for any individual of any land, any age, any religion, any school of thought, including atheists and materialists, young and old. They are universal in nature and therefore need to be broadcast to the whole of humanity with the help of all the tools of modern communications.

Gītā in the Modern Age

The value of the Gītā is not diminished but all the more enhanced in the modern age. With a feverish activity men are pursuing wealth and success and thereby hope to achieve happiness and peace of mind. The result is that they achieve material success, but happiness and mental peace seem to elude them. The Gītā teaches us to combine action and mental peace. It gives us a new definition of happiness. It is not outside, but within yourself. Learn the technique of finding it and it is yours. Do everything possible to achieve material success, but let your mind and judgment be aloof from it. Understand the difference between your two selves : you as matter and you as supra-matter, call it soul or mind. Let the one be engrossed in activity but keep the other supremely aloof, serene, equipoised, balanced in a state of yoga. If modern man learns this lesson, he will not need any sleeping pills, psychiatric clinics and mental hospitals.

In order that the modern world may understand the teachings of the Gītā, it must be properly presented and interpreted. The repetitions, contradictions and diversities in views must be explained and interpreted in such a way that they will satisfy the modern reader. This is an age of reason and science, and an ideology will be accepted only if it satisfies the demands of logic. This was so even in the age of the Gītā. Arjuna did not swallow passively everything that Kṛṣṇa said. He argued with

the Master now and then for his apparently contradictory, illogical and improbable statements. Modern youth is a direct descendant of the rational and questioning Arjuna, psychologically speaking. My humble attempt in this essay is to explain the contradictions and diversity of views in the Gītā and make it understandable to the readers of our age.

The old tradition was to study the poem from the metaphysical, ethical and philosophical points of view. I have tried to follow as far as possible an inter-disciplinary method. I have attempted to look at the treatise from all angles, historical, sociological, literary, linguistic, metaphysical and philosophical. This, to my mind, is something unprecedented in the life of the Gītā. Never before was the poem subjected to such varied kinds of analysis and classifications as in this thesis. I have tried to peep into the age of the Gītā, to visualise the authors, their audiences, their opponents, their society, their contemporary religious practices, their problems and conflicts. Therefore, for me every word and phrase of the poem has its own significance, says something and is pregnant with meaning.

The Substance of the Thesis

There are two types of readers of the Gītā. A large number of people are interested in gaining a broad general idea as to what the Lord's message is. They do not bother much about the detailed words, verses and concepts. It is enough for them that the poem advocates Karman, Jñānā and Bhakti; Action, Knowledge and Devotion; either as separate paths or as a trinity. But there are many careful and scrupulous students who would like to understand the relation of every word, verse and chapter to the book as a whole. They try to understand the total design and ultimate conclusion of the Gītā and expect a kind of unity in structure and motive. They fail in this attempt. It is for these readers that this thesis tries to analyse the poem and interpret its message.

After an intensive study of the poem I have come to the conclusion that the Gītā was written by three philosopher-poets, during three different periods, for different types of audiences. This inference is reached after a number of analyses, classifications and other processes which are described in detail. The conclu-

sions are based on the contents of the text itself. They are further supported and reinforced by a comparison with contemporary literature like the Mahābhārata, the Upaniṣads, the Darśanas and the recent findings of ancient history. At the end I have printed in three different colours the three divisions of the poem, so that readers may be able to verify the reliability of my conclusions by reading the original compositions and the interpolations. A concise chart attached to this preface gives in a nutshell the peculiarities of the three divisions and the three authors.

The first author composed some portions of the existing first six chapters of the poem. The second author added six more chapters of his own—they form portions of the present VIII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVII and XVIII chapters. The third author recast the whole poem by adding his own verses to the chapters of the first and second poets, composed six entirely new chapters, inserted them in the middle of the poem, and shifted the chapters of the second author to the third sextet. His new chapters in the present Gītā are VII, IX to XII and XVI.

The original, first Gītā was composed some time before the 6th century B. C.; the second after about a century, and the third by about the 3rd century B. C. The first author propounded the theory of Yoga and Karman, and refuted the Saṁnyāsa and non-action principle of the contemporary Sāṅkhya philosophy. The second author added the practical details of Karma-Yoga and supplemented the poem by the contemporary Sāṅkhya metaphysics and cosmology. The third author brought Karma-Yoga within the understanding of the common people, by associating it with devotional theism based on the worship of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. This is the germ of the later Bhāgavata-Dharma. He also tried to integrate the diverse forms of worship and religious practices.

My conclusion about three authors may be unwelcome to some, who have up to this time believed that the Gītā is the original dialogue between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna. To these readers, for whom I have great respect, I shall make a request to disregard the three-author theory, but follow the three-division plan, for a better understanding and interpretation of the poem, in their own interest. After all, my main objective is a better understanding and a coherent interpretation of the Lord's Song.

The English Edition

My Marathi book on this very subject, *Mūlha Gītecā Śodha* (मूळ गीतेचा शोध) was welcomed by the scholars of Maharashtra, although a few of them disagreed with the conclusions. This English book follows the conclusions of the Marathi book, but its plan is somewhat different, in that it tries to give the author's interpretation in detail about the three philosophers and the poem as a whole.

Makara Saṅkrānta
14th January, 1969

G. S. Khair

Peculiar Features of the Three Authors

The following table shows at a glance the broad differentiating features of the Three Authors

		I Author	II Author	III Author
1.	Chapters	Portions of 1 to 6	Portions of 8, 13-15, 17-18	Entire 7, 9-12, 16 Portions of the rest
2.	Verses	18 % 126	17% 119	65 % 455
3.	Period	Older Upaniṣads	Old Upaniṣads	New Upaniṣads
4.	Date	before 600 B. C.	600 to 500 B. C.	300 to 200 B. C.
5.	Problem	Saṁnyāsism	karma-choice	diverse creeds
6.	Conflict	Sāṅkhya-Yoga	tyāga-karma	old and new creeds
7.	Solution	Yogic karma	sātvika-tva	devotional theism
8.	Sāṅkhya	modified	explained	Vedantised
9.	Yajña	liberalised	required	criticised
10.	Philosophy	Yoga	diversity	Vedānta & Bhakti
11.	Religion	yajña as principle	regular yajñas	Kṛṣṇa worship
12.	Emphasis	Karma-theory	Karma-application	Cāturvarṇya karma
13.	Goal	Brahman state	Brahma-loka	merge in Kṛṣṇa
14.	Ideal	karma-yogin	guṇātīta	ideal bhakta
15.	Criteria	Yoga-buddhi	rules and forms	will of God
16.	Saṁnyāsa	subordinate	unacceptable	vairāgya
17.	Devotion	no reference	passing reference	major emphasis
18.	Psychology	mind and reason	rules and forms	faith & mysticism
19.	Individual	Self-effort	slightly fatalist	Divine Will
20.	Elements	seven	twenty-four	eight
21.	Tradition	Prajāpati	Brahman	Vivasvān
22.	Vedas	authority	authority	subordinate
23.	Categories	wise and ignorant	satva-rajas-tamas	daiva-āsura
24.	Exposition	logical	informative	exhortative
25.	Style	clarity-simplicity	prose-like verse	highly poetic
26.	Terminology	limited	developed	advanced
27.	Audience	scholars, ascetics	householders	classes-masses
28.	Opponents	respected	neglected	cursed

I

Origin of the Problem

I STARTED my study of the Bhagavad-Gītā in 1920. Since that year I have made it a practice to read or recite a chapter or two every day and try to understand the meaning and significance of some of the passages which appeal to me. Reading of the Gītā is for me my daily prayers. Some of the ideas in this poem have influenced my life and moulded my outlook, attitudes and values. The Gītā is my prayer-book.

My general impression after reading the Gītā for a number of years was that the poem is replete with edifying and effective ideas useful for life, scattered all over the book in every chapter. They are simple to understand and easy to remember. Here and there, we come across concise and powerful thoughts which appeal to a reader, irrespective of his religion, sect or denomination. This, to my mind, is the key to the tremendous popularity of the Gītā. It influences your life. From this point of view the Gītā is intelligible. But for a logical, related, consistent, systematic and coherent interpretation, the poem presents a number of difficulties. I guess there are very few people who are able to follow, from beginning to end, the logic and argument of the main themes of the book. In a number of places it is hard to understand the relation of a verse or a paragraph to the topic under discussion and to the theme of the poem as a whole. Personally I could not do this for a number of years.

The modern reader approaches a book with certain expectations about its arrangement. It should have a central theme, and all the parts of the book should bear some relation to and lead towards an understanding of the main topic. A literary or philosophic work should possess unity in the development of its main subject. It would be unfair to apply this literary

criterion to an ancient composition like the Gītā, compiled several centuries ago. At the same time it is also true that the modern reader is unable to grasp the full meaning of a composition, which lacks unity in theme and design. This is exactly what happens in the case of the Gītā. The fault lies not so much with the ancient poem, as with the modern reader, who is ignorant of the background of the Gītā—the social, religious and ideological conditions which influenced the ideas of the authors. Consequently a logical and consistent interpretation of the poem presents difficulties to a devoted reader like me. This may also be true in the case of a large number of other readers. They, therefore, remain satisfied with a limited number of verses, paragraphs or chapters which appeal to them and which they can interpret for themselves. Very few, indeed, might be able to interpret the Gītā as a whole in a satisfactory way.

With a view to acquainting the general reader with the important ideas in the Gītā, I published in 1963 a book in Marathi entitled *Gītetīl Mukhya Vichār* (The Main Ideas in the Gītā). The plan of this book was to give in each chapter, first, the central idea, then, three to five verses with their prose order and meaning, and, at the end, practical application of the idea in everyday life. In this way fifty-two main ideas were treated in this book. This was meant for those readers who were unable to follow to the end the main argument of the poem. Some of my friends suggested that I should write another book giving a systematic exposition of the philosophy of the Gītā. I, therefore, started an intensive study of the book for my own understanding.

One of the greatest difficulties about the exegetic literature on the Gītā is that there is no agreement among the most prominent scholars about the ultimate conclusions of the poem. Ancient and modern commentators in Sanskrit and modern Indian languages, oriental scholars in India and abroad, all these differ amongst themselves with regard to the main teaching of the Gītā. Therefore, I decided first to study for myself the text of the poem intensively, and afterwards to read the related literature. In the course of my study, the idea of multiple-authorship often occurred to me and was strengthened further after reference to literature on the subject. On this point also I discovered a sharp cleavage between two opposite points of

view. Some scholars, mostly Indian, hold that the Gītā is mainly the product of one composer and has come down to us in the original form. Other scholars, on the contrary, mainly western, appear to suspect that there are interpolations by other authors and that the original Gītā has been enlarged. A decision on this issue was necessary before proceeding to write a systematic exposition of the tract. The topic appeared to me most important and also interesting. So I decided to pursue it further and arrive at my conclusions, by making a thorough analysis and investigation of the text itself, and also by a study of relevant publications. This was necessary for my own satisfaction. The present publication is a brief report of my investigations.

Thus the main purpose of my study was to resolve the difficulties that stood in the way of my own understanding and coherent interpretation of the Gītā. Some of the problems that always confronted me with regard to the language, the structure and the purpose of the Gītā are listed below :

1. *Changes in terminology* : In the course of the discussion of a particular topic, there is a sudden change in terminology, thus creating an impression that the topic has changed. In the latter part of Ch. II the terms बुद्धि, बुद्धियोग and बुद्धियुक्त are used and suddenly the terms प्रज्ञा, स्थितप्रज्ञ, समाधिस्थ and समाधि occur. Ch. XIII is another good illustration in point.

2. *Alternative terminology* : The terms used for describing certain fundamental concepts change from chapter to chapter, or within the same chapter, as shown above. The common reader is unable to understand the minute shades of meaning and is puzzled. For describing the Supreme Being, the cosmos and living creatures, the terms प्रकृति–पुरुष, क्षेत्र–क्षेत्रज्ञ, परा–अपरा प्रकृती, व्यक्त–अव्यक्त, सत्–असत्, क्षर–अक्षर, ब्रह्मन्–महद्ब्रह्मन्, परमात्मन्–आत्मन्, etc. are used. This is especially true of the nine chapters from VII to XV.

3. *Meaning of terms* : The connotation of the same terms appears to differ from one part of the book to the other. Thus the words ब्रह्मन्, पुरुष, प्रकृति, योग, बुद्धि, etc., need to be interpreted in a variety of ways. There must be some reason for such multipurpose and varying use of terms.

4. Certain important terms are conspicuous by their absence

in some parts. In the first part of Ch. II describing the immortality of the Soul, a number of adjectives are used for describing the immutable nature of the शरीरिन् and देहिन्, but the word आत्मन् in the sense of 'Soul' is absent. My impression is that in the first hexad the word आत्मन् is used in the sense of 'self' and not of 'Soul'.

5. The Supreme Being is described in different terms in different parts of the book. In some chapters the pronoun तत्, सः is used; in some places पुरुष and in other places ब्रह्मन्, ईश्वर, परमात्मन् etc. are used.

6. In the major part of the dialogue between Bhagawān and Arjuna, Bhagawān identifies himself with the Supreme Spirit and uses the first-person-singular; while in the other parts he refers to ब्रह्मन्, पुरुष, or तत् in the third-person-singular. Chapters VII, IX, X, XI, XII and XVI are all entirely in the first-person-singular, while all the other chapters mix up the first and third persons in various proportions.

7. Some topics are repeated again and again throughout the Gītā. The treatment and viewpoint are sometimes different, but often identical in content and expression. The topics संन्यास, यज्ञ, ज्ञान-विज्ञान, भक्ति occur again and again, sometimes with different meaning and emphasis. Different theories appear about cosmic creation and eschatological states.

8. Human beings and their activities are classified under three categories as सात्त्विक, राजस, and तामस, in minute details in Ch. XIV, XVII and XVIII. But Ch. XVI again classifies persons into two classes as दैवी and आसुरी. What is the reason for this three-fold and two-fold classification in consecutive chapters ?

9. Every opportunity is utilised to describe with detailed epithets the qualities of an ideal and perfect person such as स्थितप्रज्ञ, भक्त, त्रिगुणातीत, ज्ञानिन्, etc. The adjectives used are practically identical. Similarly the evils of काम-क्रोध are denounced again and again.

10. Un-related and irrelevant matter is inserted in the course of a very fluent and logical discussion. Most of these unconnected topics are of a moral and devotional nature. They disturb the line of thinking and throw the reader off the track for some time, e. g. the latter part of Ch. V.

11. From the viewpoint of structural unity and symmetry, the major part of some chapters is ideal but other chapters appear to be mixed up. Ch. XIII appears to be confusing and Ch. XIV absolutely clear in this respect. In some cases the introductions and conclusions do not agree; in others unrelated matter appears in the beginning, middle or at the end. Sometimes the matter is related but appears to be inserted afterwards.

12. The original sequence of some of the verses in Ch. XIII appears to have changed. If they are re-arranged properly, the sense is easily intelligible.

13. At the end of Ch. I some questions are posed by Arjuna about कुलधर्म, and कुलक्षय, but specific and direct replies to them do not appear in the poem.

14. Solecisms or grammatical deviations occur throughout the book but their proportion is larger in certain sections.

15. The mythological situation which raises the fundamental question, " to fight or to quit", and, in the larger human perspective, " action or renunciation", presupposes that " action " is the ultimate reply of the Gītā. The general tenor of the poem confirms this. Why, then, should there be repeated descriptions of ideal persons suggestive of attitudes of renunciation, like उदासीन, अपरिग्रह, अनिकेत, निराश्रय, पुत्रदारगृहादिषु, अनभिष्वङ्ग etc.?

16. The contradictions between certain statements in different parts of the book cannot be satisfactorily resolved. Are they real or imaginary ? It is not easily possible to reconcile such statements as, " नादत्ते कस्यचित् पापम् विभुः । " and " अहं त्वां सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि । "; " आत्मा एव आत्मनः बन्धुः । " and " भ्रामयन् सर्वभूतानि यन्त्रारूढानि मायया । "; " बुद्धौ शरणमन्विच्छ । " and " मामेकं शरणं व्रज । ".

17. The terminology denoting the ultimate aims and objectives of human life keep on changing from chapter to chapter. Thus various terms are used as अमृतत्वम्, परमं पदम्, ब्रह्मभूतः, ब्रह्मसंस्पर्शम्, ब्रह्मनिर्वाणम्, दिव्यम् पुरुषम्, माम्, मत्पदम्, मम परमं धाम, पुनर्जन्ममुक्तिः, मृत्यु-संसारसागरात् समुद्धर्ता etc.

18. When devotees are exhorted to worship and to resort to only one deity, which specific deity is intended ? It may be वासुदेव–कृष्ण. If that is so, what may be the reason for such a choice ?

19. How many of the verses did the interlocutors deliver on the battlefield ? Or, did the dialogue take place in prose ?

Who actually versified the conversation; when; and how many out of the present 700 verses ? What are the later additions, if any; who made them; why; when ?

20. What exactly is the ultimate message of the Gītā ? Why is it that there are fundamental differences among ancient and modern interpreters on this important point ?

21. If additions to the original text were made by later authors, what kind of audience or readers did they have in mind ?

These and similar questions need satisfactory answers before a coherent interpretation of the poem can be made. Commentators and critics have tried in their own way to find the answers, but they are not always convincing. The points enumerated above do not have a mere academic significance for scholars only. The common reader who wants to interpret the Gītā intelligently comes across these problems. Their convincing solution would help him in his understanding of this sacred, eloquent and popular Divine Song. I am submitting the findings of my humble investigations in this field for the consideration of such readers of the Gītā.

II

Problems Concerning the Text

Popular yet Controversial

The Gītā enjoys the highest esteem among educated people. It is at the same time a subject of unresolved controversies among scholars and research-workers. Indian and Western scholars are still confused and divided among themselves on the questions of the authorship, the ultimate message and the date of the poem. The great divergence that exists in the views of scholars who have deeply studied this book testifies at once to the popularity and the very controversial nature of the poem. Few other ancient Indian works have enjoyed the popularity of the Gītā in India and abroad. It has been translated into almost all the developed languages of the world.

Many scholars in India and abroad have studied problems concerning the text, the date and the central idea of the Gītā. A brief summary of their views will give the readers an idea of the area and the range of difference in their findings and conclusions. Only a few representative scholars are mentioned here.

Ancient Indian Commentators

With regard to the authorship of the Gītā, the old Saṁskṛt commentators are divided into two categories. Some hold the view that the verses assigned to Bhagawān came straight from the lips of Lord Śrīkṛṣṇa himself. Śrīdharaswāmi in his *Subodhinī* and Varavara Muni in his *Gītārtha-Saṁgraha-Dīpikā* have affirmed this faith.[1] Most of the other commentators, however, hold that Kṛṣṇa-Dwaipāyana or Vyāsa composed the

1. 'तत्र च प्रायशः श्रीकृष्णमुखात् निःसृतान् एव श्लोकान् अलिखत् कांश्चित् सत्सङ्गतये स्वयं व्यरचयत्।' श्रीधरस्वामी.

'अन्ये सर्वेऽपि (श्लोकाः) साक्षाद् भगवन्मुखारविन्दनिर्गलिताः।' वरवरमुनि.

verses on the basis of the dialogue that took place between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna on the battlefield.[2] The view of Śaṅkara is representative in this respect.

The ultimate teaching or message of the Gītā appears to have been a highly controversial subject from very ancient times. Śaṅkara refers to the conflicting and diverse views held by past commentators and aspires to give a definite interpretation.[3] But his own conclusion that the Gītā advocates two different paths, that of Karma for the ordinary people and Saṁnyāsa for the enlightened ones, has raised new controversies without resolving the old ones. In a critical study of the commentaries of the major commentators, T. G. Mainkar shows how on the major issues of action, devotion, renunciation, knowledge, etc., Śaṅkara Rāmānuja, Maddhva, Vallabha, etc., hold diverse views. "If a judgment is to be given after a comparative study of these commentators, it would be as follows : Maddhva's comments are fantastic, while Rāmānuja, Ānandvardhana, Rāmakaṇṭha and Keśava explain the poem in a manner far closer to the intention of the author, the mistake however being the one of excessive emphasis on Bhakti (it may be pointed out that just as Śaṅkara understands Bhakti as Jñāna, Rāmānuja understands Yoga as Bhakti VII-1); but Śaṅkara's comments reverse the teaching of the Bhagavadgītā".[4]

Coming to modern critical literature, we find that questions about the authorship of the Gītā and its ultimate message are still extremely controversial, and have not ceased to invite the efforts of new scholars for their solution. The following summary of the views of some representative scholars will reveal the wide divergence of views among them.

Modern Indian Scholars

C. V. Vaidya : The present Mahābhārata is the product of

2. 'तं धर्मं भगवता उपदिष्टं सर्वज्ञो भगवान् वेदव्यासो गीताख्यैः सप्तभिः श्लोकशतैः उपनिबबन्ध।' शांकरभाष्य.

3. 'तदिदं गीताशास्त्रं समस्तवेदार्थसारसंग्रहभूतं दुर्विज्ञेयार्थं तदर्थाविष्करणाय अनेकैः विवृतपदार्थ-वाक्यार्थ-न्यायमपि अत्यन्तविरुद्धानेकार्थत्वेन लौकिकैः गृह्यमाणमुपलभ्याहं विवेकतोऽर्थनिर्धारणार्थं संक्षेपतो विवरणं करिष्यामि।'

शांकरभाष्य

4. T. G. Mainkar, *Gītā-Bhāṣya-Prakāśa*, p. 65

Vyāsa, Vaiśampāyana and Soutī, but Soutī has no hand in the Gītā. It was a complete work long before Soutī.

R. G. Bhandarkar : He has refuted the view held by some Western scholars that the Gītā is influenced by the Bible. He proves that the Gītā was composed several centuries before Christ.

Justice Telang : He has given a detailed list of contradictory statements in the Gītā.

B. G. Tilak : The original Gītā remains practically unchanged. When the Bhārata was recast into the Mahābhārata, minor changes might have occurred in the Gītā, but they did not affect its fundamental doctrines. The main teaching of the Gītā is Karma-Yoga.

S. Das Gupta : Das Gupta along with a few other critics is of the view that the Gītā was composed long before the Mahābhārata and was inserted into it with necessary changes. It was composed before the crystallisation of Sāṅkhya, Vedānta and other systems.

S. Radhakrishnan : The Gītā is a synthesis of the then existing schools of philosophy. " That is why we find in it apparently conflicting views about the end of freedom and the means of discipline." Referring to the theories of redactions and interpolations advanced by Garbe, Hopkins, Keith, Halzmann and others, Radhakrishnan remarks, " There is no need to accept any of these conjectures." Indian scholars feel that " incongruous elements are fused together," while Western authors feel that " the brilliant fragments refuse to coalesce even in the skilled hands of the author."[5]

S. C. Roy : Roy has exhaustively discussed the theory of interpolation and has come to the final conclusion that there are no serious interpolations at the hands of sectarian writers as supposed by Western scholars. The integrity of the text has not been impaired to any appreciable extent except for one or two minor verses. The Gītā, independently written, was later incorporated in the Mahābhārata.

S. D. Pendse : The latest study of this scholar on Pourāṇika Bhāgavata Dharma, of which the Gītā is the main authority

5. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy* , Vol. I, pp. 519–580.

induces him to conclude that only the first three chapters of the poem are original and all the others were added afterwards.

G. V. KETKAR : Shri Ketkar, a life-long student and an ardent advocate of the Gītā is of the view that there are at least three, if not more, authors for the poem.

There are a few other Indian scholars who support the theory of interpolation, but on the whole the majority of Indian critics firmly adhere to a unitary conception of the poem. The idea of multiple authorship is repugnant to the Indian mind, both orthodox and rational. There is generally an attempt to reconcile and explain the apparent contradictions and subordinate them to the major teachings of the Gītā. Belvalkar typically expresses this approach when he says " that the author of the philosophical synthesis as presented by the existing text of the Gītā, while firm in certain aspects of his teaching, allowed, on certain other philosophical issues, an option of views....The orthodox Vedānta itself all along admits such differences in details, provided the central dogma remains intact."[6]

Views of Western Critics

An English translation of the Gītā first appeared in 1784, when, at the direction of Warren Hastings, the then Governor-General of India, Charles Wilkins produced an English version. German, French and other European-language editions of the Gītā soon appeared and invited the attention of orientalists in the West. When a critical study of the text was attempted, difficulties arose about the diversity of doctrines and their coherent interpretation. Then arose the theory of interpolations, first advanced by Humboldt in 1826, and pursued thereafter by many other critics. A large number of Western scholars support the interpolative idea, but a section of orientalists adhere to and defend the unitary concept. These diverse views are summarised below.

W. VON HUMBOLDT : " Interpolations and additions may with great probability be conjectured, even although it may not be possible to point them out individually....The connection

6. S. K. Belvalkar, *The Bhagavadgītā*—Introduction, p. liii.

between the individual doctrines would probably have been closer if the idea of a whole had dominated the first draft."[7] He considers Chapters I to XI and Verses 63 to 78 of Chapter XVIII as the Original Gītā.

A. Weber : " The Bhagavad-gītā can, of course only be regarded as in part a combination of the most highly diverse pieces."[8]

Adolph Halzmann : " We have before us a Viṣṇu-ite working up of a pan-theistic poem. We must distinguish between an earlier and a later Bhagavad-Gītā. The earlier poem was a philosophico-poetic episode of the old genuine Mahābhārata composed in a pan-theistic sense." [9]

E. Hopkins : " This Divine Song is at present a Kṛṣṇite version of an old Viṣṇuite poem, and this in turn was at first an uncertain work, perhaps a late Upaniṣad." [10]

Richard Garbe : The theistic part is the original Gītā and the pantheistic part is a later addition. The theistic and Bhakti part along with Sāṅkhya-Yoga is the original; the Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta portions are of a later date. " In short, in the old poem Kṛṣṇa-ism philosophically based on the Sāṅkhya-Yoga is proclaimed; in the additions made in the recension, the Vedānta philosophy is taught."[11] He recommends the elimination of the following interpolated passages : Ch. III 9–18, Ch. VI 27–32 and Ch. VIII 20 to Ch. IX 6.

Rudolph Otto : " The present-day guise of the Bhagavad-gītā, however, is not its original version; ...The Original Gītā is no doctrinal text, no doctrinal writ of Bhakti religion, but rather Kṛṣṇa's own voice and deed, referring directly to the situation in which Arjuna finds himself, intended, however, not to proclaim to him any transcendent dogma of salvation but to render him willing to undertake the specific service of the Almighty Will of the God Who decides the fate of Battles." [12] Otto concludes that the Original Gītā consists of Ch. I; Ch. II 1–13, 20, 22, 29–37; Ch. X 1–8; Ch. XI 1–6, 8–12, 14, 17,

7. *On the Episode in the Mahābhārata known under the name of the Bhagavad-Gītā*, 1826, pp. 53–54.
8. *Indische Studien II*, 1853, p. 394.
9. *The Mahābhārata and Its Parts*, pp. 163–4.
10. *The Religions of India*, 1902, p. 389.
11. *Introduction to the Bhagavad-Gītā*, 1918, pp. 8–11.
12. *The Original Gītā*, 1939, pp. 14–15.

19–36, 41–51; Ch. XVIII 58–61, 66, 72, 73. Total 131 verses.

Edward J. Thomas : " The tendency of modern criticism is in favour of the unity of authorship." [13]

John Davies : He reviews the arguments of those who contend that Christian doctrines influenced the Gītā and concludes, " We require more evidence. With Weber we must say that the question is still subjudice." [14]

Franklin Edgerton : The opinions in the Gītā are based on intuitive perception, not intellectual reasoning. They are not supported by logic. " To the mystic they are above reason; to the rationalist, below it; to both they are disconnected with it." [15]

M. Winternitz : " There still runs through the poem an unsolved contradiction between the quietistic morality of Asceticism, which points to meditation pursued quite apart from the world and the striving for the highest knowledge as the way of salvation; and the morality of Action, which, at least among the philosophers, has never been properly acknowledged in India....There are, however, other contradictions in the poem staring us in the face at every turn." [16]

A. B. Keith : He thinks that the Gītā was originally an Upaniṣad of the Śvetāśwatara type, later adapted to the cult of Kṛṣṇa.

L. D. Barnett : " Different streams of tradition became confused in the mind of the author." [17]

Ultimate Teaching of the Gītā

With regard to the message of the Gītā, the views of different scholars, ancient and modern, Indian and Western, are far from unanimous. The conflicting opinions before and after Śaṅkara have already been mentioned. Coming to modern interpreters, the same disagreement of views prevails among them. The major topics in the Gītā are Karma, Jñāna and Bhakti. There are scholars who assert that the Gītā advises you to follow any one of these paths, all of them being of equal value. Aldous Huxley thinks that there are people of three types, cerebral,

13. Wisdom of the East Series, 1931.
14. *The Bhagavad-Gītā or the Sacred Lay*, 1893.
15. *The Bhagavad-Gītā*, 1944, p. 48.
16. *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, 1927, p. 433.
17. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, 1929, p. 530.

cardiac and muscular, and the Gītā has provided guidance for these. There are others like B. G. Tilak and S. K. Belwalkar who conclude that a harmonious combination of the three disciplines is intended. Mahatma Gandhi, Radhakrishnan, Aurobindo Ghosh, R. D. Ranade, Rudolph Otto and others have interpreted the message of the Gītā, each in his own way. Aurobindo says " The Gītā is not a book of ethics but of spiritual life." S. Radhakrishnan says that " The Gītā is obviously an ethical treatise " rooted in Brahma-Vidyā or knowledge of the spirit. On the other side, the mystic aspect of the teaching is emphasised by R. D. Ranade, who feels that the Gītā is " the greatest work on mysticism that the world has ever seen; when God-realisation has been duly stressed, everything will follow in its wake."[18]

The diversity of views in the field of the philosophical interpretation of the Gītā is obvious.

Dates of the Gītā

It is but natural that the divergence of views with regard to the authorship and the message of the Gītā should be carried over to the determination of the dates and periods when the whole Gītā or its parts were composed. The evidence of astronomy, literary history and thought-evolution is pressed into service for fixing the dates of ancient works. The Mahābhārata, describing the great war between the Kouravas and Pāṇḍavas, supplies the background for the dialogue between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, hence the dates of the Great War and the Mahābhārata also have much relevance in this inquiry about the date of the Gītā. A large number of Indian and Western critics have attempted this task, and the divergence between their views will be seen from the following tables :

Dates of the Great War

3101 B. C.	Rājārāmśāstri Bhāgawat
3000 B. C.	C. V. Vaidya
2786 B. C. 13 to 18 Oct.	R. V. Vaidya
1931 B. C. 18 Oct. to 14 Nov.	J. S. Karandikar
1500 B. C.	Modern historians
1400 B. C.	B. G. Tilak
1300 B. C.	Pandit Seetānāth Tatvabhūshaṇa

18. *The Bhagavadgītā as a Philosophy of God-Realization*, 1959, Ch. X, XI and XII.

The date of the Great War is relevant in this controversy because some readers believe that the dialogue in the Gītā actually took place on the battlefield and was soon after recorded in the same words, or in his own verse by Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, the contemporary of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna. Some critics, however, hold that the Mahābhārata and the Gītā were composed at a later date, and the Mahābhārata continued to expand for a few centuries afterwards. The earliest and latest dates are given below :

Dates of the Mahābhārata and the Gītā

Earliest Century	*Latest Century*	
B. C.		
30		C. V. Vaidya
20		J. S. Karandikar
20	15	Rājārāmśāstri Bhāgawat
9	6	B. G. Tilak
5		Modern Historians, S. Rādhākrishnan and R. D. Rānade
4		R. G. Bhāndārkar and R. V. Vaidya
4	4 A. D.	Winternitz
3		Telang
3		Rudolph Otto
2	2 A. D.	R. Garbe and Farquhar
1	1 A. D.	Pandit Seetānāth Tattvabhūshaṇa
	3 A. D.	Sir Edwin Arnold

The wide gap that yawns between the earliest and the latest dates assigned to the Mahābhārata and the Gītā is obvious.

Areas and Range of Controversies

It will be evident from the foregoing discussion that practically every aspect of the Gītā has invited controversies. Some critics believe that the poem is the creation of only one outstanding genius, while others try to prove that the original Gītā was a smaller work, expanded by one or more later writers. The message of the Gītā is equally controversial. Some scholars interpret it as an ethical treatise, while some authorities maintain

that it is a textbook of mysticism and God-realisation. A majority of readers feel that the Gītā teaches a combination of the three-fold paths of Karma, Jñāna and Bhakti, while a few commentators find in it an advocacy of renunciation, or an alternate choice of one of the three paths. The problem of date is also debated, some scholars, on the evidence of astronomy, assigning to the Gītā a very ancient period, while a few Western scholars consider the poem comparatively modern, about the 3rd or 4th century A.D.

It is, therefore, necessary to investigate why such a wide divergence of views prevails and whether some kind of reconciliation of the views can be effected, or at least some explanation for the diversity can be found. Actually the Gītā is a small poem of 700 verses and an agreed interpretation of the work should not pose a difficult problem.

III

Methods and Tools of Investigation

In order to arrive at a coherent, systematic and connected interpretation of the Gītā, and to resolve the textual contradictions that gave rise to diverse views about its authorship and message, I decided to use mainly three resources, the text of the poem itself, related literature on the subject, and introspection on the unsolved problems.

There are several commentaries, translations and criticisms on the Gītā, explaining the text in general and in detail. The immense body of literature that has been produced by Indian and foreign writers on this comparatively short poem is amazing. To study all this literature in depth would require several years. The result of such an external study often is that the reader is influenced by one or more powerful writers, and unconsciously becomes an enthusiastic advocate of a particular point of view. There are people who insist that the central theme of the Gītā is Saṁnyāsa, or Jñāna, or Bhakti, or mystic experience, or self-realisation and so on. The Gītā deals with all these topics eloquently and convincingly, consequently there is some truth in the advocacy of every one of the above enthusiasts. Such a situation confuses me when I try to interpret the Gītā and persuades me to rely on my own resources and interpretation. I, therefore, decided to study for myself, intensively, the text itself, and arrive at my own conclusions before being subjected to external literature and criticism.

I decided first to analyse the text of the Gītā in all possible ways. I prepared a number of charts, analysing each chapter, each verse in each chapter, important words in the verses, topics in every chapter, and the whole poem in general. To begin with, there was no definite plan as to what and how many these charts should be. I went on preparing them as and when they

suggested themselves to me. I had no idea as to what would emerge out of these classifications. The least I expected was a satisfactory and coherent interpretation of the text for myself and definite location of the difficult spots and insoluble problems. I am giving here a list and description of these charts, so that readers might get an idea of the tools which helped me to arrive at my conclusions and might verify them or pursue the investigation still further.

The Tools of Investigation

For an intensive study of the text of the Gītā I prepared the following tools and charts :

1. Annotated Reference Text
   (As an authorised text I chose the Gītā edited by S. K. Belwalkar, who had prepared the edition after consulting all the available versions for the Bhīṣma-Parvan of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. I pasted the printed pages on one side of foolscap paper so that the blank space was available for my own notes and jottings.)
2. Chapter-wise analysis of topics
3. Analysis of verses in each chapter
4. Topic-wise chart of the Gītā
5. Compilation of repetitions
6. Descriptions of ideal persons
7. Compilation of religious practices
8. Theories of cosmic creation
9. List of significant verses
10. Probable classes of audience and readers
11. Vocabulary of significant words
12. Grammatical analysis—First and third person singular
13. Sentences in Imperative and Potential Moods
14. List of proper names and adjectives for Kṛṣṇa and Arjun
15. Classification of important concepts and ideas
16. Words and concepts denoting ultimate goals of life
17. Classification of vocabulary and concepts according to probable authors
18. Grammatical deviations in the probable divisions

19. Peculiarities of probable authors
20. Probable divisions of the Gītā
21. The Original Gītā and the two redactions.

As I went on preparing these charts and studying them, vague inferences gradually emerged out of them, and in order to confirm, verify and finalise them, I prepared further classifications and ultimately arrived at my definite conclusions. I first formed my own ideas on the strength of an intensive, analytical study of the Text, without being prejudiced or influenced by the theories and criticisms of other scholars, and afterwards consulted other relevant literature in order to see how far external evidence from different areas supported my conclusions.

Study of Related Literature

It is essential to take into consideration the social, religious, philosophical, literary and ideological background of the authors and their audience. Our modern point of view will not help us fully to understand the Gītā. The teaching of the poem can be grasped only when, with the help of a study of the history of society, literature, religion and philosophy of the ancient period, we are able to create a vision of the society for which the dialogue was written. A kind of inter-disciplinary approach is necessary for a satisfactory interpretation of the text. I have tried to approach the Gītā from this point of view, the details of which are given here so that other scholars may be able to pursue this line of investigation and throw more light on the poem.

The Mahābhārata : The Gītā is an important section in the Bhīṣma-Parvan of the Mahābhārata. Therefore, a close study of the Parvan and a general study of the Mahābhārata was necessary for an intelligent understanding of the poem.

Other Purāṇas : The Mahābhārata being the first and foremost Purāṇa, there are in the other Purāṇas references to it and to the Gītā. A general knowledge of the Bhāgawata Purāṇa and the other Purāṇas is useful as a general background for interpreting the Gītā.

Other Gītās : Many other Gītās, on the analogy of the Bhagavad-

Gītā, were composed later on. There are many similarities in form and content between the first Gītā and the later Gītās, the difference being in the particular Deity or God and the disciple, between whom the dialogue takes place.

The Upaniṣads : In the colophon at the end of each chapter of the Gītā, the work is mentioned in the plural number as 'Gītās Upaniṣads' (Gītāsu Upaniṣatsu) . Traditionally the Gītā is respected because it contains the quintessence of the ancient Upaniṣads. A general study of the language of and concepts in the Upaniṣads is immensely helpful for a proper interpretation of the Gītā.

The Darśanas : The Darśanas or philosophical systems existing before and during the period of the Gītā must have influenced the poem. A study of their evolution is essential for a student of the Gītā.

Ancient History : During the last quarter of this century, many new facts about the ancient history of India have been discovered and a connected account of the period is becoming available. These developments shed some useful light on the social and religious background of the period of the Gītā.

Literature, Philosophy and Religion : The study of the history of ancient literature, philosophy and religions helps us in understanding the evolution of some of the concepts and ideas in the Gītā.

Commentaries, Translations and Criticisms : There is ample literature explaining the Text of the Gītā and the teachings therein. A study of some of the important works is essential. Ancient and modern, Indian and foreign, orthodox and rational, all types of scholars have contributed towards an adequate interpretation of the Gītā and all related aspects of the poem. I consulted some of these works for the purpose of my inquiry.

The Role of Introspection

Along with the charts of analysis and classification prepared by me, and the related literature on the Gītā, the third tool that immensely helped in my investigation was Introspection. It

might sound superfluous and egoistic to mention that in this type of study, but I do want very humbly to make a special reference to it because it really and actually helped me in the solution of some of the knotty problems connected with the Gītā. Introspection and contemplation on the analysis of the Gītā, the classified topics and the topic-wise chart, helped me in arriving at certain tentative conclusions and indicated the direction of further study. Occasionally, an unexpected idea emerges in the mind and disposes of a difficult point. Often this idea is not the product of any logical thinking. It just reveals itself to you. One can experience what the ancients called a revelation or something akin to that. The idea may afterwards be set in the frame of logic but it may not be the product of logic. Sometimes I went to sleep with an engrossing problem on my mind and at dawn I woke up with a solution ! There is absolutely no suggestion of mysticism in this, because my introspection was based on objective data. I spent as much time on introspection as I spent on preparing the classification charts and on the study of relevant literature. Being a reader of the Gītā from 1920, I know the major part of the text by heart. This, coupled with a mental picture of the topic-wise chart showing the position and the context of different topics, helped me in the process of introspection. A coordinated use of the three was exceedingly helpful for the creative part of this investigation. This thesis is thus not merely another book produced after a study of several other books. Introspection, contemplation and creative thinking have gone into the making of it as much as the study of the text and related literature. I am recording my experience here for students of the Gītā who would like to verify and pursue this study further. This is an important tool that gives individuality and personality to a work.

The Use of Tools

As I said earlier, I first concentrated my attention on the text of the Gītā and tried to analyse and classify it in as many different ways as possible. These analyses are the main source of my conclusions. They are the primary evidence. The related literature supplies the supporting evidence. I first established my own hypothesis and then resorted to other sources for verifica-

tion and support. At the end of this book I have given specimen charts of analysis and classification to enable others to go through the same processes and see whether they yield something entirely different or opposite. These charts are, therefore, an important part of this thesis.

IV

Analyses and Inferences

In the previous chapter is given a list of the various tools that I prepared for my investigation. This chapter describes the nature and use of these tools and their contribution towards the formulation of tentative conclusions or a hypothesis for this study. I did not start with any preconceived hypothesis; it emerged out of the first stage of my research. My main object in the beginning was to define and resolve my own difficulties in the way of a coherent interpretation of the Gītā.

1. *Annotated Reference Text* : A specimen page of this text is given in the appendix. This tool was useful in a variety of ways from the beginning to the end of my investigation. It was used for reviewing the poem, for noting important references, for jotting down ideas suggested while reading, for marking important words and concepts, and for locating doubtful and controversial points. The central idea, the conclusion and the main points in each chapter were noted on this loose-leaf textbook. The breaks in coherent argumentation and probable additions were marked. The loose pages of the different chapters could be arranged in a variety of ways for getting a bird's-eye view of the whole book, for comparing different chapters and for dividing the book on the basis of certain criteria. In short, such a loose-leaf textbook with ample blank space on one side and at the back is an extremely useful tool for similar investigations.

2. *Chapterwise Analysis of Topics* : This chart was useful for reviewing a whole chapter at a glance. The development of thought in the chapter, along with deviations, were noted. The

probable additions at the beginning and end or in the middle of each chapter were marked. The diversity in terminology, method of exposition and concepts was located. In short, this analysis was helpful in forming a tentative idea about the original and the interpolated portions.

3. *Analysis of Verses in Each Chapter* : In this analysis important verses giving the central idea and the conclusion of each chapter, the ultimate message of the author, and important concepts were noted. Significant words and phrases, having a bearing on the ultimate aims of life, modes of worship, systems of philosophy, metaphysical concepts and grammatical peculiarities were marked. Verses and paragraphs dissimilar to the major part of the chapter, or incongruous with and unrelated to the main topic, could be located. Doubtful spots became more definite.

4. *Topic-wise Chart of the Gītā* : This was a sort of map of concepts showing the whole Gītā at a glance. The relation of each topic to the particular chapter and to the other portions of the book could be seen. Each topic could be seen in its context and its repetitions in other places could be easily located. Continuity or breaks in the development of topics could be seen. The map was helpful in giving a clear idea of the general plan of the poem, its arrangement, the development of each chapter, the total number of topics discussed, their relevance to the chapter and to the whole poem, the central ideas in each chapter and of the poem, and for a synthetic overall review of the Gītā. This chart could be produced before the mind's eye for the purpose of contemplation on different aspects of the poem.

5. *Repetition of Topics* : While reading the Gītā, one soon notices the repetition of certain topics. One is at a loss to know why the same things are said again and again, sometimes in the same language. There must be some substantial reason for these repetitions. A list of the most important topics was prepared along with the frequency of their occurrence. This chart of classification showed that out of thirty-five most important subjects, a large number is repeated twice or thrice, but there are about eight subjects which are repeated five or six times.

This chart determined the exact nature of the topics and the place and the context of their recurrence.

6. *Ideal Persons* : Descriptions of ideal persons are given in several places. A long list of moral qualities are attributed to such persons, and the same adjectives recur again and again with a slight change in language. The paragraphs mentioning the attributes of the Sthita-prajña, the Bhakta and the Guṇātīta are extremely popular. They form a part of the prayers of and are a subject for contemplation for many readers of the Gītā. A classification of all these attributes was made with a view to finding out their implications for ascertaining the teaching and the authorship of the Gītā. I found that they are from the same pen and they bear much resemblance and are practically identical with the attributes of a recluse or Saṁnyāsin. A definite tinge of renunciation or Vairāgya is unmistakable.

7. *Religious Practices and Forms of Worship* : There are several places in the Gītā describing religious practices and forms of worship. Their relative value and the fruits accruing from them are also mentioned. A list of such practices was prepared to find out points of similarity and difference, and their implications for determining the message and the authorship of the poem. It was noticed that a great deal of diversity exists with regard to the practices recommended or described, the objects of worship, the ultimate aim, and the basic philosophy of the forms of worship. The emphasis appears to be different from the first to the third sextet of the poem. The possibility of plurality of authorship is suggested. The emphasis on certain points appears to vary from one portion of the Gītā to the other.

8. *Cosmic Creation* : From the seventh chapter onwards various theories about cosmology and metaphysics occur off and on. Ideas about the creation of the universe and its disappearance, the creator, the soul and the world of matter are repeated twice or thrice. There is some diversity in the terminology used and in the theories presented. Parā and Aparā Prakṛti, Kṣara-akṣara Puruṣa, Prakṛti-Puruṣottama and similar topics appear here and there in the course of the dialogue. The relation between

the Creator and the creation is explained in several places again and again. A compilation and classification of all these theories helps us in understanding the similarities and differences among these diverse ideas. The terminology used and the concepts explained are somewhat different. The question arises as to why these theories are scattered all over instead of being presented in one or two chapters in a systematic and coherent way. Is it one school of thought or are there different systems; is there any attempt at a reconciliation and coordination of the different theories ? Is the diversity due to an evolution of thought over a long period and are the ideas presented by one or more authors ? There must be some reason for the diversity in the cosmological and metaphysical theories.

Conclusions and Inferences

The tools of investigation which were prepared earlier yielded certain tentative conclusions, and suggested the direction for further investigation and the preparation of necessary instruments for the same. I shall, therefore, summarise these primary inferences which form a sort of hypothesis for this research, and then proceed to describe the other classifications and charts. For the sake of brevity I have given only one or two illustrations to elucidate my points.

1. *Extension of the Chapters* : There are some chapters in which a verse summarises and concludes the main topic of the chapter, but the exposition continues further on. Sometimes the terminology and language used is entirely different from that used in the previous discussion. This supplementary composition suggests that the addition may have been made later on by some other redactor. The last paragraphs in Ch. II and VI illustrate this point. The descriptions of the Sthita-prajña and the reborn Yogin appear to be a later addition. The terms used in the earlier discussion are Buddhi and Yoga, while new terms like प्रज्ञा, समाधि, स्थितप्रज्ञ, अभ्यास, वैराग्य, etc. appear in the supplementary paragraphs.

2. *Stages in the Evolution of Terminology* : A study of the terminology used in the Gītā reveals that new terms are

added in the later chapters and the connotation of the old terms undergoes a change. The meaning of a term used earlier changes entirely in another part of the poem. Sometimes a new meaning is attached to old terms. The whole terminology appears to be undergoing an evolution. This is suggestive of different authors and later periods of the composition. In Ch. II where the immortality of the soul is described by the use of nearly twenty-two different adjectives, the word Ātman is conspicuous by its absence, and the words Śarīrin and Dehin are invariably used. In fact, Ātman as soul does not occur in the first six chapters of the poem; wherever it is used its meaning is 'self', not 'soul'. Ātman and Paramātman occur in Ch. XIII. The connotation of the words प्रकृति, पुरुष, ब्रह्मन्, अक्षर, etc. appears to be intentionally changed later on. In the beginning they were proper nouns, later on they become common nouns, because they denote more than one object. This process appears to take place from Ch. VII onwards. The inference suggested is that since there are two or three stages in the evolution of the terminology, there must be an equal number of writers and the same number of periods, or dates of composition.

3. *Ultimate Objectives* : The ultimate aim of life in ancient times was liberation, Mokṣa or Mukti. The different concepts and terms used for this objective appear to have gone through three different stages. In the first hexad the term Brahman is predominant and the final state is expressed by the words ब्रह्मसंस्पर्श and ब्रह्मभूत in which ब्रह्मन् is predominant. In the second and third hexads, the idea is expressed in two different ways. In Ch. VIII the yogins and the ब्रह्मविद: aspire to reach the दिव्य-परम-पुरुष or ब्रह्मन् both of which are abstract concepts like the ब्रह्मन् in the first section. In Chapters VII, IX, X, XI and XII particularly, and in other chapters generally the ultimate objective recommended is to reach 'me', that is, to reach Bhagawān Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa through faithful unique devotion. A close scrutiny of this subject leads to the theory of three authors and three periods. The original author placed the ideal of Brahmapada, the second one added the idea of the abstract Parama Puruṣa, and the third supplemented the two by the ideal of devotion to a personal god—Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa.

4. *Connotations of the Perfect Individual* : The moral attributes of the perfect and ideal person are repeated several times in connection with the स्थितप्रज्ञ, ज्ञानिन्, संन्यासिन्, योगिन्, भक्त, गुणातीत and नैष्कर्म्यसिद्ध. In some places they occur naturally in the course of the exposition, but in the majority of cases they appear to be added as a supplement at a later stage. Not a single opportunity is lost for such a description. The attributes are all identical or similar, both in concept and in terminology. They are from one and the same pen, but added later for an emphatic moral effect. The object is to teach morality in a concrete way, so that the common people may be able to follow and practise it.

5. *Synoptic Verses* : In each of the three sextets of the Gītā there are in one or two places verses which appear to epitomise the teaching of that particular section. The whole philosophy of that section is squeezed into one or two verses. They are practically the main points of the discussion and teaching of that particular section. After studying these abridged versified statements, I cannot help concluding that the difference in the content and emphasis of the messages indicates three different teachers.

The teaching of the first section is summarised as below in Ch. IV–41 :

योगसंन्यस्तकर्माणं ज्ञानसंच्छिन्नसंशयम् ।
आत्मवन्तं न कर्माणि निबध्नन्ति धनंजय ।।

This verse expressly recommends a combination of the trinity of योगस्थ-कर्म, ज्ञान and आत्मदर्शन. yogic action, knowledge and self-introspection or the attainment of a pure spiritual life. The next stage appears in Ch. XIII 24, 25.

ध्यानेनात्मनि पश्यन्ति केचिदात्मानमात्मना ।
अन्ये सांख्येन योगेन कर्मयोगेण चापरे ।।
अन्ये त्वेवमजानन्तो श्रुत्वान्येभ्य उपासते ।
तेऽपि चातितरन्त्येव मृत्युं श्रुतिपरायणाः ।।

In this section a sort of option is provided, and there is no insistence on a combination or on any particular path. The author is catholic and tolerant. He considers ध्यानयोग, सांख्ययोग, कर्मयोग

and अन्योपासना, contemplation, knowledge, action and other ways of worship, equally effective for spiritual freedom.

The third stage of the Gītā places the greatest emphasis on devotion to a personal god and considers all other paths equally useful, provided Bhakti is the ultimate aim. There are many verses embodying this idea, but the following important lines in Ch. XII 8 to 12 best summarise the position :

मय्येव मन आधत्स्व मयि बुद्धिं निवेशय ।
× × ×
अभ्यासयोगेन ततो मामिच्छाप्तुं धनंजय ।।
× × ×
सर्वकर्मफलत्यागं ततः कुरु यतात्मवान् ।।
श्रेयो हि ज्ञानमभ्यासाज्ज्ञानाद्ध्यानं विशिष्यते ।
ध्यानात्कर्मफलत्यागः त्यागाच्छान्तिरनन्तरम् ।।

It will be seen that भक्तियोग along with one or all of the other Yogas, अभ्यासयोग, कर्मयोग, ज्ञानयोग or ध्यानयोग will lead a person towards a realisation of god. All the same a gradation or preference or priority is indicated.

The difference in emphasis in the three messages will be apparent to any reader. The first author insists on a combination of three paths; the second recommends four paths of equal importance; and the third considers devotion necessary along with any of the alternative paths. The first two make no mention of Bhakti in these verses.

This leads one to the conclusion that at one stage Bhakti was not a part of the Gītā. It was introduced at a later stage. It was not difficult for the first two authors to include Bhakti in their synoptic verses. This is corroborated by another piece of evidence. In Ch. XVII and XVIII the threefold nature of ज्ञान, दान, श्रद्धा, यज्ञ, तपस् etc. is described, but there is no mention of Bhakti. This topic is treated in greater details in a separate chapter.

6. *Change in the Sequence of Verses* : The order of the verses in some chapters appears to have been altered. This alteration is in some cases accompanied by an addition of verses in between. Chapter VIII, XIII and XVIII are illustrations of this change.

The order of the first eleven verses in Ch. XVIII is disturbed. In Chapters VIII and XIII Theistic and Vedantic paragraphs are inserted in between Sāṅkhya paragraphs. If the order of verses in Ch. XIII is restored, according to the topics of क्षेत्र-क्षेत्रज्ञ and प्रकृति-पुरुष and the other verses are eliminated, the chapter can be interpreted easily. There are similar changes in other chapters also. They suggest that the original text has been expanded with a view to adding newer concepts to the old ones.

Further Investigation

The tentative conclusions accruing from the first few classifications and analytical charts that I prepared have been given in this chapter. They suggest that there might be more than one author for the poem and that the dates of the various sections might be different. In order to establish whether or not these conclusions are valid, further investigation was carried on by way of analysis and classification of the text. A report on this further investigation is given in the chapters that follow.

V

'Surrender Thyself to Me'

One of the peculiar linguistic features of the Gītā that always puzzled me was the use of the first person singular by one of the interlocutors, Kṛṣṇa, in the role of God Himself. The use of the different case-forms of Asmad occurs here and there in the first sextet, but from the seventh to the twelfth chapters and in the latter part of the eighteenth chapter, the use of Asmad is very prominent. The peak is reached in the ninth chapter in which practically all case-forms as अहम्, माम्, मया, मे, मत्, मम, मयि and compound words like मद्भक्त, मन्मनाः, मद्याजी etc. are repeated several times. I, therefore, decided to probe into this feature of the poem in order to ascertain what guidance it could offer for a rational interpretation of the Gītā.

The original author of the Gītā adopted the literary form of a dialogue between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna in order to report their conversation on the battlefield, and this form is maintained up to the end of the poem. Whenever a reference to the Supreme Being or God is made by Kṛṣṇa, there are two distinct ways in which this is done. In some verses the Divine Principle is referred to in the third person singular; but the use of the first person singular is most prominent in the major part of the poem.

In some verses Kṛṣṇa refers to the Divine Being as something apart from himself as a third entity besides Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, and such terms as ब्रह्मन्, पुरुष, क्षेत्रिन्, परमात्मन् etc. and many times only the pronouns तत्, सः, यत्, येन् etc. are used. The following illustrations will explain this point: यो बुद्धेः परतस्तु सः। (III 42). एवं बुद्धेः परं बुद्ध्वा। (III 43). योगयुक्तो मुनिर्ब्रह्म न चिरेणाधिगच्छति। (V 6). निर्दोषं हि समं ब्रह्म। (V 19). सुखेन ब्रह्मसंस्पर्शमत्यन्तं सुखमश्नुते। (VI 28). स तं परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यम्। (III 10). क्षेत्रं क्षेत्री तथा कृत्स्नं प्रकाशयति भारत। (XIII 33). यान्ति ते परम्। (XIII 34). तमेव

चाद्यं पुरुषं प्रपद्ये । (XV 4). गच्छन्त्यमूढाः पदमव्ययं तत् । (XV 5). सिद्धिं प्राप्तो यथा ब्रह्म तथाप्नोति निबोध मे । (XVIII 50). ब्रह्मभूयाय कल्पते । (XVIII 53). In the above stanzas Kṛṣṇa refers to the Divine Being as something other than himself.

Kṛṣṇa also refers to himself as God or Divine Being in the major part of the poem. युक्त आसीत मत्परः । (II 61). यो मां पश्यति सर्वत्र । (VI 30). मामनुस्मरन् । (VIII 13). मामुपेत्य । (VIII 16). क्षेत्रज्ञं चापि मां विद्धि । (XIII 2). अहं बीजप्रदः पिता । (XIV 4). अतोऽस्मि लोके वेदे च प्रथितः पुरुषोत्तमः । (XV 18). मामेकं शरणं व्रज । (XVIII 66). भक्तिं मयि परां कृत्वा । (XVIII 68). In Chapters VII, IX, X, XI, XII and XVI, the first person singular is used exclusively for God; in the other chapters it occurs along with the third person singular.

Is it possible that this twofold reference on the part of Kṛṣṇa indicates two separate writers ? In order to determine the implication of this grammatical peculiarity, I prepared a table of verses from each chapter indicating the references to the Divine Being in the first person and the third person. A summary of the total count is given in a tabulated form at the end of this chapter. This table shows that in Chapters II to VI, VIII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVII and XVIII, Kṛṣṇa refers to God both in the third and the first person singular. But in Chapters VII, IX, X, XI and XII all references are in the first person only, to the exclusion of the third person. This particular fact should be carefully borne in the mind, because in the further discussion it has important implications for determining the sequence and the date of the other redactor.

After collecting this cumulative data of the two kinds of subjects and verbs, I proceeded to study their comparative significance and use in each chapter. I tried the method of elimination, first eliminating the verses using the third person and then doing the same for the first person. To my surprise, I found that in Chapters I to VI, the verses using the first person were an addition to the verses using the third person. The argument in the chapters did not suffer materially and substantially by their omission. In fact, after the exclusion of the first person verses from the first hexad, the section stands out as a complete unit with a logical argument concerning the philosophy of yoga. The third person verses can stand independently, on their own, as a complete unit, not so the first person verses. My tentative

inference was that the original portion in the first sextet could be isolated by eliminating verses in the first person singular.

Applying the same method to Chapters VIII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVII and XVIII, I got the same result. The elimination of the first person verses did not affect the unity of the arrangement or argument of these chapters. The original composition can be isolated by the omission of the first person verses which must be a later insertion.

The addition of the first person verses has in many places reinforced the main argument, or added new topics or changed the bearing of the old paragraphs. This will be studied later on. Their elimination will shorten the length of the chapters and reduce the number of verses. But the main criterion is unity in construction and coherence in discussion, which remains undisturbed by this method of elimination. There are short chapters in the Mahābhārata also. The criterion for originalness is unity of structure and coherence in argument. The residual portions of the above chapters satisfy this test. This disposes of the mixed chapters. I shall now turn to the remaining chapters where the first person construction is used exclusively.

In Chapters VII, IX, X, XI, XII and XVI, Kṛṣṇa speaks in the role of God or the Supreme Being, in the first person, and the use of the third person is conspicuously absent. These are not mixed, but exclusive chapters, from this grammatical point of view. What is the implication of this phenomenon? My provisional inference is that the author or authors using the third person have not disturbed these chapters, but the other chapters have been enlarged and changed by the author using the first person. This fact is very important for determining the sequence of the authors. Chapters VII, IX to XII and XVI were not re-touched or re-edited, which implies that the writer who composed and added them was the last in sequence. The poet who used the first person for God must have been the last one; and the authors whose chapters he redacted by adding the first person verses must have preceded him. Whether the preceding chapters were composed by one or more poets remains to be determined.

The next question is the particular deity denoted by the use of Asmad, with which Kṛṣṇa identifies himself. The writer

seems to have identified Kṛṣṇa with the deity Vāsudeva to which reference is made in Chapters VII, XI and XVIII. The last poet wants to emphasise that Bhagawān Kṛṣṇa is the same as Vāsudeva, an incarnation, in human form, of the Supreme Being; devotion to Him leads to liberation. This new concept was added to the Gītā by the last poet, who modified the preceding chapters by suitable interpolations and also inserted in the middle independent chapters of his own, to expand and elucidate the doctrine of devotion. The author is the last one, but his main composition and philosophy is in the centre, the second sextet. In order to ensure a unity and continuity of the idea throughout the poem the chapters in the first and third sextets have been suitably re-edited with new additions in relevant places. The author comes last chronologically, but his main composition is in the middle of the poem, second in sequence.

The conclusion seems to be inevitable that the author using the first person is other than the first composer; the date of his composition may be different; and the object of his redaction of the whole poem is different. He has taken the utmost care and pains to unify his portions with the original composition, and he has succeeded in this task to a remarkable degree. This, to my mind, is an admirable, unique, glorious and creditable achievement in the history of ancient literature. But owing to the self-imposed moral obligation of retaining intact the preceding composition, subtle contradictions have crept in, which commentators try to reconcile without much success. So the whole poem has the outward appearance of unity but discloses contradictions on critical scrutiny. This thesis can explain the contradictions, not remove them.

This last author has taken the greatest care to preserve and reinforce the original objectives and message of the Gītā, and has added his new philosophy to the old doctrines in such a way that they retain their original basis and at the same time assume a new form and meaning in the light of the new theism and devotion to a personal God. The original message of yoga and karma is reinforced by the new message of devotion. The question may arise as to why the first person construction is used instead of the previous third person. There are two probable reasons.

Since, according to the last teacher, the object of devotion and worship is Vāsudeva or Bhagawān Kṛṣṇa himself, the message of devotion preached by Kṛṣṇa must also be in the first person singular, as मामेकं शरणं व्रज । "Surrender thyself unto me, the sole refuge." The form of the poem adopted by the original teacher necessitated the continuance of the same by the later teachers, especially this last one. The probable criticism of 'dogmatism' and 'egoism' on the part of Kṛṣṇa, which is really the art of the poet, can be suitably answered in this light. It was inevitable in order to continue the dialogue of the original text.

The poet could have used the third person singular for putting across his message of devotion, by a slight change in the form of the poem. But he knew full well the psychology of the common people, for whom the last composition was specifically added. The common man would value more the message of a personal God, rather than that of ordinary, though outstanding, persons like Vyāsa, Vaiśampāyana and Souti. At the end of the Mahābhārata the poet exclaims,

ऊर्ध्वबाहुर्विरौम्येष न च कश्चिच्छृणोति मे ।
धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स किमर्थं न सेव्यते ।। 62

"At the top of my voice I preach, nobody listens ! Success and pleasures on Dharma depend; why, oh ! why not resort to that ?"

The idea of the last composer proved effective. The readers believe implicitly that the message and teaching of the whole of the Gītā was delivered by Lord Kṛṣṇa Himself. He squeezed the quintessence of the Upaniṣads into the Bhagavad-Gītā and delivered the same to the world. The quotations from the Gītā are given as authoritative words coming from the lips of God Kṛṣṇa or Bhagawān himself.

There are in other faiths instances in which the teaching is imparted in the first person. Jesus Christ and Hajarat Mohammad Paigambar delivered their messages in the first person singular, in the capacity, not of God, but of the messengers of God. Western scholars of the Gītā, who were accustomed to read the Divine message in the first person through the Bible,

were led to believe that the verses and chapters delivered by Kṛṣṇa in the first person formed the original Gītā. Humbolt, Garbe and Otto were probably misled by the analogy between the Bible and the Gītā and some Western critics sincerely but wrongly believed that the composers of Gītā were influenced by the Bible.

The problems concerning the authorship and the date of the Gītā arose in the course of an intensive and analytical study of the poem for a satisfactory consistent interpretation. The grammatical classification of the verses in the first and third persons yielded a very substantial conclusion about additions to the Gītā by an author who was the last to re-edit the book. A large portion of the Gītā can, with some certainty, be ascribed to this author. The next problem to be tackled is whether the surviving part of the poem is the creation of one author or more. To solve this problem, further analysis and classification of the book was undertaken by devising other tools for investigation. This further study led me to the inference that the remainder of the poem can be ascribed to two authors. So the final conclusion is, that the Gītā was written by three different authors, during three consecutive periods. A discussion on this point follows in the next few chapters.

Appended to this chapter is the analytical and classification chart on the strength of which I have formulated my conclusions. In the initial stages of my study, I had not the slightest idea that the inference about multiple authorship would emerge out of it. On the morning of 15 August 1966, I was comparing the portions in the first and third persons when, quite unexpectedly, this last author revealed himself through the analysis. This discovery encouraged me to carry on my quest still further.

Before closing this chapter, I must refer to another finding in this respect. The first two authors have invariably used the third person, and not even once the first person; the third author has generally used the first person but, in a few cases, as in Ch. XVIII 61–62, XIII 12–17, he has used the third person also. In the fervent and sincere sentiment of devotion he forgets his literary and spiritual identity with God and refers to God as God and expresses his devout feelings for Him :

ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां हृद्देशेऽर्जुन तिष्ठति। XVIII 61
तमेव शरणं गच्छ सर्वभावेन भारत। XVIII 62

"The heart of all creatures, Oh Arjuna, is the dwelling place of God." (XVIII 61). "Unto him alone, Oh, Bhārata, surrender with all thy love." (XVIII 62).

NUMBER OF VERSES IN THE FIRST AND THIRD PERSON SINGULAR INDICATING GOD

Chapter	*First Person Singular*	*Verses*	*Third Person Singular*	*Verses*
I	0	0		0
II	61	1	17–21	5
III	22–24, 30–32	6	10, 15, 42, 43	4
IV	1–15, 35	16	24, 25, 31, 32	4
V	29	1	5, 6, 10, 19, 24–26, 14–17, 21	12
VI	14, 15, 30, 31, 47	5	20, 27, 28, 29, 2	4
VII	1–30	30	0	0
VIII	4, 5, 7, 11–13, 14–16, 21	10	3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 20, 22, 24	8
IX	1–34	34	0	0
X	1–11, 19–42	35	0	0
XI	5–8, 32–34, 47–49, 52–55	14	0	0
XII	2–20 (whole chapter)	19	0	0
XIII	2, 10, 18	3	1, 3, 12–17, 19–23, 26–34	22
XIV	2–4, 19, 26, 27	6	20	1
XV	6–15, 18, 19	12	4, 5, 16, 17	4
XVI	18–20	3	0	0
XVII	5, 6	2	23, 24	2
XVIII	54–58, 65–69	10	46, 50–53, 61–62	7
	Total	207	Total	73

VI

Three Authors and Their Peculiarities

My investigation up to this stage had proved that the middle sextet in general, and some portions from the first and the third sextets, are the creation of the last author. My next task was to determine the authorship of the residual portion in the first and third sextets. For this purpose I devised several other tools of analysis and classification and studied them carefully to see whether the remaining sections of the Gītā were the creation of one author or more. After a prolonged study of, and introspection over, the various charts that I made, I arrived at a tentative hypothesis that the rest of the Gītā can be ascribed to two authors on the basis of subject matter, its treatment, viewpoints on important issues like Yajña, Saṁnyāsa, metaphysical-cosmological theories and development of the central idea in the Gītā. The first sextet is the mixed composition of the first original author and the third one; the second sextet in general is the creation of the third poet exclusively; and the third sextet is the mixed creation of the second and third authors. This is a broad division because in my detailed study I found that Ch. XVI belongs exclusively to the third author and Ch. VIII is a mixed chapter by the second and third writers. I arrived at this conclusion after several attempts at ascribing certain doubtful portions to one or the other author. But my final conclusions are supported and substantiated by the distinct peculiarities and characteristics of the three authors in their respective compositions.

Another objective of my further investigation was to identify and isolate the composition of the third author from that of first and second authors. For this purpose the distinctive peculiarities of each author were determined on the basis of those portions of the composition which could, with the greatest certainty, be

ascribed to each of the three authors. In the discussion that follows, I have given illustrations of the peculiarities of each author, on the basis of the rough division of the poem which I made on the evidence supplied by my analyses and classifications.

Use of Proper Nouns and Adjectives

In the course of the dialogue in the poem, Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna address each other by their proper names or descriptive appellations. I collected all these names and classified them roughly under the category of the three sextets. The details are given in the appendix.

Let us first see how Arjuna addresses Kṛṣṇa in the three sextets. In the first sextet, Arjuna addresses Kṛṣṇa about thirty times by the following several names : अच्युत, केशव, गोविन्द, कृष्ण, जनार्दन, माधव, मधुसूदन, हृषीकेष, अरिसूदन, वार्ष्णेय etc. In the second sextet Arjuna addresses Kṛṣṇa about fifty times by these names : आदिदेव, जगत्पते, अनन्त, कमलपत्राक्ष, जगन्निवास, देवदेव, देवेश, देव, भगवन्, पुरुषोत्तम, भूतभावन, भूतेश, परमेश्वर, प्रभो, महायोगेश्वर, महात्मन्, महाबाहो, योगिन्, योगेश्वर, विश्वेश्वर. विश्वरूप, विष्णो, विश्वमूर्ते, यादव, सहस्रबाहो, वासुदेव etc. in addition to the names occurring in the first sextet. The variety and wealth of names and attributes which are used in this section mark its author as distinctly separate from those of the other two sections. Turning to the third sextet which I ascribe to the second author, we find only nine proper names, and they too belong to the portion added by the third author. The second author is conspicuously different from the rest in his non-use or scanty use of proper names.

Kṛṣṇa addressed Arjuna by several proper or descriptive names. In the first sextet he addresses him about fifty times by these names : अर्जुन, अनघ, गुडाकेश, कौन्तेय, कुरुनन्दन, धनंजय, पार्थ, पाण्डव, भारत, परंतप, महाबाहो, भरतर्षभ, etc. In the second sextet, the frequency is the same with the addition of कुरुश्रेष्ठ, कुरुप्रवीर, देहभृतांवर, सव्यसाचिन्, etc. The third sextet differs from the first two in its scanty use of proper names, limited to a few like Pārtha and Bhārata. This classification shows the peculiarity of the second author in this respect—scanty use of proper nouns.

The classification of proper and descriptive names suggests three different authors for the composition of the poem. On going over all the proper names and epithets used for Kṛṣṇa

in the whole poem, I discovered that the words नारायण and गोपाल were conspicuously absent. The name विष्णु is used to indicate आदित्य. I think this peculiarity indicates that when the Gītā was written, Kṛṣṇa was not identified with Nārāyana, Gopāla and, probably, Viṣṇu.

Exhortatory Conclusions

The original purpose of the Gītā was to shake off the doubts and dejection of Arjuna and exhort him to fight. Therefore, from beginning to end are scattered such exhortations as, "Therefore go forth to fight", "Therefore do not bemoan the death of any person", "Therefore resort to Yoga", "Therefore surrender unto me", etc. A list of these sentences is given in Appendix XI. The original author of the Gītā conceived the poem as the exhortation of Kṛṣṇa to inspire Arjuna to action. It is interesting to see how the same author and the other authors, if any, have maintained this consciousness of the hortative nature of the dialogue. For this purpose I collected all the verbs and sentences in the imperative and potential moods, urging Arjuna to do something.

The first author maintained the sense of fighting up to the end of the second chapter, but in the other chapters the exhortations to fight give place to other persuasions, such as, "Therefore do your duty", "Therefore be a Yogin", etc.

In the second sextet and other portions of the Gītā written by the third poet, the total number and variety of such exhortations is remarkable. This author is highly conscious of the inspirational nature of the composition and the imperative phrases are more encouraging and forceful. "Destroy the enemy and enjoy this prosperous kingdom", "Fight, victory is yours", "Remember me, and go forth for battle", "Therefore arise and be victorious", etc. This author has used a number of other exhortative phrases, not related to battle: "Be Yoga-yukta", "Come unto me", "Be devoted to me", "Arise", "Look at my forms, behold, see!", "Surrender thy actions to me", "Surrender the fruits of your actions", "Act as you desire", "Listen again", etc. The composition of the third writer is replete with such appeals, in his own chapters and in those portions which he added to the previous chapters. The

powerful and inspiring nature of his imperative phrases marks him as entirely different from the other poets.

The second writer who wrote the third sextet, uses such phrases about fifteen times, but they lack the variety and force of the third or even the first author. He uses the verbs "Listen", "Understand", "Know" over and over again, most of the times for metrical purposes. समासेन श्रुणु and समासेन निबोध are his favourite phrases.

To sum up, the classification on the basis of imperative verbs and phrases suggests the composition of the poem by three different authors.

Battlefield Atmosphere

I then proceeded to see the extent to which the atmosphere of the battlefield, in which the scene of the Gītā is laid, is maintained throughout the poem. This aspect has an important bearing on the unity or division of the Gītā. In the first sextet, this atmosphere is retained only up to the end of the second chapter. The emphasis after that is, not on fighting, but on duty and yoga. In the second sextet, the atmosphere of the battlefield is revived and kept constantly in the forefront. The third author, to whom I ascribe this portion, is always conscious of the battlefield and the dialogue form. Especially in Chapters II, XI and the latter part of Chapter XVIII, his exhortations to fight are extremely powerful and eloquent. Some of these phrases are on the lips of every reader of the Gītā, e. g., मामनुस्मर युद्धच च। (VIII 7); हतो वा प्राप्स्यसि स्वर्गं जित्वा वा भोक्ष्यसे महीम्। तस्मादुत्तिष्ठ कौन्तेय युद्धाय कृतनिश्चयः ॥ (II 37). The same author concludes at the end of the Gītā: "Wherever there are योगेश्वरः कृष्णः and धनुर्धरः पार्थः, victory, wealth, prosperity and justice are assured." I imagine that the third author was actually living in an atmosphere of war, which is strongly reflected in his composition. By contrast the third sextet of the second author is absolutely free from any suggestion of the battlefield. The background of war and the dialogue form are not very important for him. Not once does he use the word 'fight'. The three authors indicate their peculiarities in this respect as in many others which I have mentioned

before. It is not a mere coincidence that in many respects the three divisions of the Gītā should disclose so much diversity.

Ultimate Message

Scholars, both in India and abroad, are sharply divided among themselves as to the final message of the Gītā. It is surprising that there should be no unanimity of views over the ultimate teaching of a small book containing 700 verses ! The reason can be discovered by a thorough study of the text itself. I have discussed this point in the section, " Synoptic Verses " in Ch. IV of this book. There I have quoted the verses which summarise the message of the particular author and his composition, and indicated the diversity of views of the three philosophers. The first, second and third authors have summarised their teachings in Ch. IV 41; XIII 24, 25; and XII 8 to 12 respectively. When the Gītā is read as a unified whole, these diverse views have to be artificially reconciled, which commentators and critics have attempted to do so far. For this they had to interpret certain words and verses in the light of their own philosophy. The meaning and connotation of words was artificially altered by them. But a satisfactory and natural explanation can easily be given when the work is considered to be a creation of three authors, each of whom imparted a message, suitable and adequate to his own situation.

Evolution in Terminology

The philosophical and metaphysical terms used throughout the Gītā indicate three stages of progressive development. Growth in terminology follows the development of concepts. The three authors and their compositions exhibit a gradual enrichment of terms and concepts. Let us consider the terminology actually used in each sextet. In the first sextet, the first philosopher in his own composition uses the words ब्रह्मन्, देहिन्, शरीरिन्, तत्, सः, प्रभुः, etc. The second philosopher in his section of the third sextet, adds the terms and concepts of क्षेत्र-क्षेत्रज्ञ, प्रकृति-पुरुष, परम पुरुष, भक्ति and the सांख्य terminology. This is the second stage of development. The third philosopher in his portion of the second sextet and in the other portions added by him, uses terms and concepts of an advanced stage of philosophical

development. In addition to the terms used by his two predecessors he uses the following new ones not used before : आत्मा-परमात्मा, परा-अपरा प्रकृती, ईश्वर, विश्वेश्वर, महेश्वर, पुरुषोत्तम, वासुदेव, महद्ब्रह्मन्, शब्दब्रह्मन्, मृत्युसंसारसागरात् समुद्धर्ता, etc. A detailed list of such terms in the different sections is given in Appendix XIV. This study shows that from the linguistic point of view, there are three stages of progressive development; which leads to the conclusion that there should be three stages also in the composition of the poem, with three corresponding writers and three periods.

Change in Connotation of Terms

The study of terms and their connotation throws a flood of light on the problem of authorship and dates of the Gītā. Take the word Dharma and follow its progress throughout the poem. In the section of the first author this word does not occur even once. The second writer uses the word in Ch. XVIII 31, 32 and 34. But the third writer uses it in eighteen different verses with different connotations. धर्मक्षेत्र (I 1), धर्मसंमूढचेता: (II 7), धर्मस्य (II 40), अधर्माभिभवात् (I 40, 41), स्वधर्म-परधर्म (III 35), धर्मस्य-अधर्मस्य (IV 7), धर्मसंस्थापना (IV 8), धर्माविरुद्ध, (VII 11), धर्मात्मा (IV 21), धर्म्य (IX 2, XII 20), सर्वधर्मान् (XVII 66). Altogether he uses it twenty-four times.

The second writer uses the word in the conventional connotation of धर्म-अर्थ-काम-मोक्ष objectives. The third writer uses the word in three different connotations. Dharma means as usual the first objective in धर्म-अर्थ-काम-मोक्ष. The second meaning is the 'duty' of a person according to the चातुर्वर्ण्य system. The third connotation is the way of worship of a particular deity. This sense is implicit in सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज । (XVIII 66) and अश्रद्दधाना पुरुषा धर्मस्यास्य परंतप । (IX 3).

The word Dharma had been in existence all along. But the importance of the concept and its connotation in the minds of the authors differ in the three stages of the growth of the Gītā.

The Audience and the Readers

A poet or a writer has in his mind a certain class of audience or readers to whom he addresses his composition. Some writers unconsciously make reference to them directly or indirectly, while others are silent in this respect. The reference or non-

reference to the audience, and the class of audience referred to, is likely to indicate the plurality and the peculiarities of the writers. There is direct or indirect reference to the audience in each section of the Gītā, which shows that the poets had in their mind a certain class in society, to whom they wanted to convey their teaching. I therefore analysed all the chapters and made an exhaustive list of all the words indicative of a class of audience or readers aimed at. Appendix XVII, ' Imaginary Audience and Readers of the Gītā ', gives a detailed summary of my compilation, on the basis of which I infer that the diversity of audience might possibly be indicative of the diversity of writers also. A writer may address only a class in society or he may appeal to all classes in general. The peculiarities of the probable writers of the Gītā in this respect deserve to be studied.

In the composition of the first author, who wrote the original part of the first sextet, the following words indicate the nature of the audience he had in his mind : पण्डिताः, धीरः, तत्त्वदर्शिन्, विपश्चित्, मनीषिणः, मुनिः, योगिन्, सर्वः, लोकः, मानवः, पुरुषः, श्रेष्ठः, जनः, मनुष्याः, विद्वांसः, अविद्वांसः, तत्त्वविद्, कृत्स्नविद्, अज्ञानां कर्मसङ्गिनाम्, मानवाः, कवयः, बुद्धिमान्, ज्ञानाग्निदग्धकर्माणम्, तत्त्वदर्शिनः, आत्मवन्तम्, नित्यसंन्यासी, बालाः, युक्तः, अयुक्तः, ब्रह्मविद्, ऋषयः यतिः, बुधः, जितात्मनः etc. It appears from the preceding list that the original writer had in his mind mainly upper-class persons who were intellectually and spiritually on a high level. A change in the attitude and behaviour of this leading class, the author thought, would bring about a change among the common people also. This class consisted of scholars, academicians, philosophers, ascetics, sages, saṁnyāsins and yogins. The nature of his composition, therefore, is highly intellectual.

The second writer, in his portion of the third sextet, uses very few words indicative of the audience before him. The number and variety of such words is limited. He uses the words ज्ञानिन्, मुनिः, यतिः, योगिन् etc. once or twice each. He is more reticent about his audience, but the few words he uses in this connection indicate that he addressed the class of scholars, philosophers, sages, ascetics and yogins.

Turning now to the third author who re-edited he whole poem and added six whole chapters in the middle sextet, we find the following variety of words expressive of the audience before him: आर्तः, जिज्ञासुः, अर्थार्थी, ज्ञानिन्, मद्भक्तः, महात्मनः, योगिन्, त्रैविद्याः, जनाः,

अन्यदेवताभक्ताः, देवव्रताः, पितृव्रताः, भूतेज्याः, संन्यासयोगयुक्तात्मा, सुदुराचारः, साधुः, धर्मात्मा, पापयोनयः, स्त्रियः, वैश्याः, शूद्राः, ब्राह्मणाः, राजर्षयः, भक्ताः, पापकृत्तमः etc. This list clearly indicates the wide spectrum of the social classes to whom he addressed his message of devotion and salvation. Like his predecessors, he also addressed the elite in society, but did not stop there. His main audience is the common people and the neglected persons, who were deprived of opportunities of spiritual and moral salvation. Traders, merchants, workers, women, criminals, sinners, offenders, materialists, atheists, worshippers of ancestral and other popular gods—this was his audience. This philosopher wanted to carry his message to every section, from top to bottom, of contemporary society.

This classification is, to my mind, suggestive of the peculiarities of the three authors. That the words are confined to particular divisions of the poem definitely indicates this possibility.

Reference to Opposite Views

When a writer defends, advocates and preaches a certain doctrine, he usually has the opponent and his views in mind. The way in which this reference is made is indicative of the temperament and individuality of the author. Some writers are lenient towards their opposition, but some are extremely trenchent and bitter. It is necessary to see whether the three divisions in the Gītā disclose any peculiarities and individualities in this respect. From all the chapters of the Gītā I collected words and phrases directly or indirectly referring to opponents or opposite views, and then classified them according to the assumed authorship of each division. The result of the classification is significant for this thesis.

The first writer in his exposition uses such words as अविपश्चितः, अविद्वांसः, अज्ञानाम्, अकृत्स्नविदः, मन्दान्, अज्ञाः, संशयात्मा, बालाः, अयतिः etc.

The second writer is extremely reticent in this respect. He has no opponents before him. He rarely uses such a word as अचेतसः just once or twice.

By contrast, look at the rich and powerful vocabulary of the third author who has the least mercy for his opponents : दुष्कृतिनः, मूढाः, नराधमाः, माययापहृतज्ञानाः, आसुरं भावमाश्रिताः, हृतज्ञानाः

अल्पमेधसः, अबुद्धयः, नष्टान्, अचेतसः, सर्वज्ञानविमूढान्, अश्रद्दधानाः, मोघाशाः, मोघकर्माणः, मोघज्ञानाः, विचेतसः, राक्षसीमासुरीं प्रकृतिमाश्रिताः, विमूढाः, अकृतात्मानः, नष्टात्मानः, अल्पबुद्धयः, उग्रकर्माणः, अशुचिव्रताः, अनेकचित्त-विभ्रान्ताः, मोहजालसमावृताः, अज्ञानमोहिताः, धनमानमदान्विताः, क्रूरान्, नराधमान्, अतपस्काय, अभक्ताय, अशुश्रूषवे, अभ्यसूयन्तः etc.

The treatment of the opposition in the three sections of the Gītā is, to my mind, indicative of the individuality and temperament of three different authors. The first uses very mild words so as not to wound the feelings of the disputants. The second is practically silent about them. In fact, he had ample opportunity of opening up a literary broadside against persons of Rājasa and Tāmasa temperaments, while giving the threefold division of persons, their faculties and their actions. But he observes the highest control over his pen. By contrast with the first two, the third redactor showers a volley of the most devastating, powerful, virulent and aggressive words and phrases upon his opponents or disputants. It is improbable that one and the same author has played all these three roles. A study of this aspect confirms me in my thesis of the plural authorship of the Gītā.

Value of this Inquiry

In this chapter I have described some more tools of investigation which I devised for an intensive study of the Gītā and indicated the conclusions yielded by them. The points, aspects and topics which I have chosen from the Gītā may appear trivial and unimportant to some readers, and they are likely to look askance at such an approach. I deal with some of the philosophical, metaphysical and doctrinal aspects of the poem at a later stage, in order to find out whether the analysis of those aspects corroborates the inferences evolved from the previous study. The main objective of this investigation is to resolve some of the difficulties that prevent a satisfactory and related interpretation of the Gītā. The problem of multiple authorship emerged out of this investigation on its own. It was not my original aim to prove the plurality of authors. When the hypothesis emerged, more tools had to be devised to test its validity. The poem is a very ancient creation and there is little external evidence to prove anything about the authors. The only first-hand source for research is the text of the poem

itself. A writer reveals his personality and individuality in his composition in a variety of ways. Just as we are able to identify individuals and differentiate them from other persons by a comparison of their voices, speech, vocabulary, favourite topics and other peculiarities, so it is, in my opinion, possible to identify and isolate the author or authors of the Gītā by an intensive, detailed and analytical study of every possible aspect of their composition, both external and internal. Such an inquiry will contribute to a better study, understanding, interpretation and application of the internal philosophy of the Gītā. I am as much interested in the ideology of the Gītā as in its structure and language. In fact, I had nearly completed my outline of a general book on the Gītā when this particular problem attracted my attention, and I thought that its solution would help me towards a better interpretation of the poem. This essay is only a by-product of that main study.

VII

Diversity in Style, Exposition and Diction

GREAT writers, and especially poets and philosophers, possess certain peculiarities in exposition, style and diction, which give an individuality to their creation and differentiate them from others. This criterion can be applied to the Gītā also. The tools of investigation prepared and used up to this time could measure differences and peculiarities with a somewhat mathematical and objective precision. Such a tool cannot be prepared and applied for comparing literary qualities. The evaluation in this field is bound to be, to a large extent, subjective. However, some points of differentiation among the three poets are so obvious, and so objective, that they do possess the value of scientific measurement and comparison, and cannot be refuted with superficial indifference.

Expositional Peculiarities : The Original Gītā

The exposition of the original author of the Gītā is extremely logical and appealing to reason. He discusses all sides of a question and then deduces the conclusions. His arguments and conclusions follow the system of logic. He clearly states the position of the disputant, discusses the pros and cons of the topic, and arrives at a conclusion. His reasoning and logic are perfect. The whole of the original Gītā is, to my mind, a masterpiece of logical argumentation. The poet had to deal with the ideas of the current, popular Sāṅkhya philosophy. He discusses all the premises and tenets of that philosophy, shows his agreement with them, but draws a conclusion exactly opposite to that of the Sāṅkhya philosophers. He admits their tenets with regard to the eternity of the soul, its aloofness from matter and the senses, the importance of knowledge, and the end of renuncia-

tion, but his argument leads to an entirely different conclusion of Action, and not Saṁnyāsa ! He imports new meanings into words like Karman and Saṁnyāsa. I strongly recommend that readers should study the original Gītā as isolated by me and printed in red ink at the end of this book. They will then realise the highly intellectual approach of the first philosopher and poet.

The first author has systematically dealt with all the questions raised by Arjuna in the first chapter of the original Gītā. He appeals to reason and asks :

वेदाविनाशिनं नित्यं य एनमजमव्ययम् ।
कथं स पुरुषः पार्थ कं घातयति हन्ति कम् ।। (II 21).

He treats with deference and respect even different points of view:

अथ चैनं नित्यजातं नित्यं वा मन्यसे मृतम् ।
तथापि त्वं महाबाहो नैनं शोचितुमर्हसि ।। (II 26).

Premises are followed by conclusions :

देही नित्यमवध्योऽयं देहे सर्वस्य भारत ।
तस्मात्सर्वाणि भूतानि न त्वं शोचितुमर्हसि ।। (II 30).

He can condense his doctrines in a few words : समत्वं योग उच्यते । Sentences or statements are of two kinds, निश्चित and व्यामिश्र :

व्यामिश्रेणेव वाक्येन बुद्धिं मोहयसीव मे ।
तदेकं वद निश्चित्य येन श्रेयोऽहमाप्नुयाम् ।। (III 2).

His plan of exposition is not confused and haphazard; he follows a sequence and a system and explains his philosophy point by point :

एषा तेऽभिहिता सांख्ये बुद्धिर्योगे त्विमां श्रृणु । (II 39).

He has the skill and perspecuity to condense his philosophy in a few words after the whole argument is complete :

योगसंन्यस्तकर्माणं ज्ञानसंच्छिन्नसंशयम् ।
आत्मवन्तं न कर्माणि निबध्नन्ति धनंजय ।। (IV 41).

This verse is practically a summary of all the discussion in the first six chapters of the first Gītā. With the help of very subtle logic, he has shown the basis and the necessity of Karma for Jñāna and Saṁnyāsa. With supreme self-confidence he has propounded the difference between Karma and A-karma and shown that, fundamentally, they are identical, from the psychological point of view :

> किं कर्म किमकर्मेति कवयोऽप्यत्र मोहिताः
> तत्ते कर्म प्रवक्ष्यामि यज्ज्ञात्वा मोक्ष्यसेऽशुभात् ॥ (IV 16).

While doing this, he has not shown any disrespect for the opposite side. He is extremely tolerant; to them he only says that they are बालाः, अपण्डिताः, अविद्वांसः etc. He is inclined to accept the good points of the opponents. He is constantly aware of his mission of persuading and leading people towards the path of action. His final message is बुद्धौ शरणमन्विच्छ ।, 'Surrender thyself to the yogic point of view.' This whole exposition of the first philosopher-poet is addressed to rational thoughtful people, philosophers, scholars, sages, and highly cultured, intelligent persons. Reason and knowledge is the basis of the whole discourse. His composition bears a unity in arrangement and theme. He concludes his discourse by a summarising verse at the end of Ch. VI: तपस्विभ्योऽधिको योगी ज्ञानिभ्योऽपि मतोऽधिकः । कर्मिभ्यश्चाधिको योगी तस्माद्योगी भवार्जुन ॥ VI 46.

His ultimate message is योगी भव । that is, cultivate the yogic attitude in life. He created a new philosophy of yoga out of the materials supplied by Sāṅkhya. His thesis has a beginning in Ch. II 39—एषा तेऽभिहिता सांख्ये बुद्धिः, योगे तु इमां श्रुणु ।, the object being— बुद्धया युक्तो यया पार्थ कर्मबन्धं प्रहास्यसि । ; and the ultimate message is तस्माद्योगी भवार्जुन ॥ VI 46. What a beautifully symmetrical and logical essay on कर्मयोग! I have the highest admiration for this highly intellectual treatise. This is the original Gītā. It was a treatise on Yoga, therefore it ends on the same note, exhorting Arjuna to live Yoga, to become a Yogin. Fighting the enemy is a smaller part of the larger problem of living a life of Yoga. The larger includes the smaller. Therefore at the end of the original Gītā there is no exhortation to fight but an appeal to develop the yogic attitude and point of view.

The Second Stage

Let us now study the method of the second author of the third hexad, omitting the interpolations of the third author. His job is not one of creating a new philosophy, like that of the original philosopher, but that of incorporating in the Gītā the doctrines prevalent during his period, with a proper classification and analysis. While doing this, he maintains a sort of personal objectivity and aloofness. He is not very enthusiastic about any particular message but treats with tolerance the different systems that existed around him. He is faithful in reproducing, without his own bias, the Sāṅkhya, Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta theories, with impartiality and scholastic objectivity, although he has a preference for a synthesis of the three. He is a philosopher with his feet on the earth. The abstract theory of Karma-yoga of the first author is supplemented by a practical application and a qualitative classification on three levels of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas, so that the common people may know what is ideal from that which is tolerable and the one that is entirely repugnant. Analysis, classification, application, description and objective presentation—these are the special features of his method of exposition. Aloof, impersonal, objective and detached, he is entirely different from the first author.

The Third Stage

The intellectual, scholastic and objective exposition of the first two writers is overshadowed and obscured by the composition of the third redactor who follows an entirely different method. He is dogmatical and overpowering. Rather than on logic, reason and objective presentation, he relies on and demands faith and loyalty from his audience. He expects them to believe in his teachings, implicitly and faithfully. He tries to achieve conviction, not with argument, but with the combined weapons of faith, mysticism, divinity, supernatural powers ,terror, admiration, superhuman forms, illusion, and an overpowering frightful vision. He is a master-mind and knows thoroughly well the psychology of the common man, who is his main audience. Those who believe in him will attain divine proximity; those who will not will go to perdition.

अश्रद्दधानाः पुरुषा धर्मस्यास्य परंतप ।
अप्राप्य मां निवर्तन्ते मृत्युसंसारवर्त्मनि ।। (IX 3)

Whereas the original author is the advocate of a new philosophy of yoga, the third is the founder and prophet of a new faith. All the power, fervour and self-confidence of a prophet, of one who identifies himself with God, of one who is himself a God, are reflected in his composition. This poet dominates the whole of the reconstructed Gītā. The contrast between his mildest and most persuasive style and his severest condemnatory denunciation is seen in his treatment of the faithful Bhakta on the one hand and the unbelieving A-bhakta on the other, in Chapters VII, IX and XVI. The description of Āsuri Sampat, demonic endowment, in Ch. XVI is a classic example of ruthless criticism, useful for any age, any society, any preacher !

He does not attempt to give many logical reasons as to why Arjuna should fight. He gives two reasons : the duty of a warrior and imitation of 'me'—God. Then come his most potent reasons : fatalism and Divine will. "I have already killed them; you are only an instrument." (XI 33). "Even if you decide not to fight, it is futile. Nature will force you. Have faith in me and fight" (XVIII 60, VIII 7)

His appeal is directed not to reason and discrimination, but to personal loyalty and faith. Instead of convincing by argument, he would rather forcefully repeat the same things over and over again. The phrases भूयः श्रुणु and भूयः प्रवक्ष्यामि । "Listen again," "Again I declare", very significantly recur in his composition. He fully appreciates the influence of repetition on the mass-mind.

He knows the two extremes of love and hate. The most virulent, devastating, caustic and incisive condemnation of atheists, materialists and hypocrites, people with devilish mentality, appears in his section, especially in Ch. XVI. A person is either a follower or an enemy. The worst criminal, through devotion, will become a saint. On the contrary, the unbelievers in 'me'—God, will go to perdition. The faithful have hope, the faithless—none. अपि चेत् सुदुराचारो भजते मामनन्यभाक् । साधुरेव स मन्तव्यः । (IX 30), क्षिप्रं भवति धर्मात्मा शश्वच्छान्तिं निगच्छति । (IX 31), मोघाशा मोघकर्माणो मोघज्ञाना विचेतसः । राक्षसीमासुरीं चैव प्रकृतिं मोहिनीं

श्रिताः ।। (IX 12), तानहं द्विषतः क्रूरान् संसारेषु नराधमान् । क्षिपाम्यजस्र-मशुभानासुरीष्वेव योनिषु ।। (XVI 19). The believers have divine sympathy, the unbelievers are accursed.

There are conflicting and contradictory statements in the section of the third author. They are due to his disregard for logic and accuracy. In Ch. VII 17 the man of wisdom is his favourite; but in Ch. XII 12 wisdom takes a lower position on a comparative scale of different paths. God-realization is so difficult that one among a thousand succeeds after a series of re-births, VII 19; but on the strength of devotion, even a wicked person can quickly attain greatness (IX 31). The same contradiction occurs in his theory of cosmic creation. "I create this universe again and again" (IX 8), and "Nature creates this universe under my supervision" (IX 10). Such opposite statements are reconciled by commentators, but one cannot deny that they are there. Compared with this redactor, the first two authors have greater regard for logic and consistency.

The composition of the third poet is sentimental, emotional, inspiring, vigorous, assuring and persuasive. It has the conviction of a mission behind it. The reader of the Gītā is powerfully influenced by this author. His message and teachings have dominated the poem. Each of the authors of the Gītā has his own individuality and peculiarity in exposition. Indeed, one and the same author cannot play such diverse roles !

Style

Difference in the style of the three poets is also remarkable. The first author's style is marked by simplicity and ease. His task is that of argumentation, refutation and new formulations. Consequently there is very little scope for poetic and imaginative flights. His style is versified prose. But the language is straightforward, direct and convincing. He explains a point in details and then sums up his position in a few laconic phrases that are remembered and quoted over centuries. Such lines as कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते । समत्वं योग उच्यते । गहना कर्मणो गतिः । न हि ज्ञानेन सदृशं पवित्रमिह विद्यते । उद्धरेदात्मनाऽत्मानम् ।। are on the lips of many persons and are often quoted in everyday life. They are the Gītā for the common man. In a few places it follows the Upaniṣadic style, as in the description of the soul in Chapter II.

The use of similes is rare but appropriate and convincing : वासांसि जीर्णानि यथा विहाय । (Ch. II 22) and यथा दीपो निवातस्थो नेङ्गते सोपमा स्मृता । (Ch. VI 19). Simplicity, force, brevity and directness are the main features of the style of the first poet in the first section.

Coming to the last sextet of the second poet, we do not find any special feature of style. What is usually written in prose is given in verse for ease of recitation and retention. This writer is busy in supplementing the original Gītā with contemporary metaphysical, cosmological and ethical principles, and therefore there is no occasion for the poet in him. In a few places he combines his own composition with quotations from the Upaniṣads. The verses कवि पुराणमनुशासितारम् । and प्रयाणकाले मनसाचलेन । (VIII 9, 10) are composed by a combination of ideas and phrases from the Kaṭha and Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣads. There is little variety in his expressions and he uses the same phrases over and over again; e. g., समासेन मे श्रुणु । His composition is for knowledge, information and edification and there is no special attempt at style.

A Master of Style : In contrast to the first two authors, the third is pre-eminently a prophet, philosopher, poet, preacher and orator, all combined in one, an outstanding achievement, indeed! From the viewpoint of style, his composition is superb. He is a master of style and a creative genius in diction. He never falters for words. There is a fluency in his verse, and he uses new words and phrases not used by his predecessors. There is rhythm, grace and elegance in his style. But when the occasion demands, his verse becomes harsh, severe and incisive. For the sake of effect he uses the same words over and over again, e. g., नमो नमस्तेऽस्तु सहस्रकृत्वः । पुनश्च भूयोऽपि नमो नमस्ते ॥ नमः पुरस्तादथ पृष्ठतस्ते । नमोऽस्तु ते सर्वत एव सर्व ॥ (XI 39, 40). The use of the words दिव्य and बहु in XI 11 and 23 heightens the effect of the verses. In a number of places his verse reaches heights of poetry and sentiment. The most sublime passages are those describing the relation of God with his devotees. Similes and metaphors abound in every Chapter, e. g. यथा नदीनां बहवोऽम्बुवेगाः। यथा प्रदीप्तं ज्वलनं पतङ्गाः ॥ (XI 28, 29).

This poet is carried away by his sentiments, consequently he does not always stick to his topic. There is a jumping from idea to

idea. He has, therefore, to repeat the same topics over and over again, and the reader is at a loss to know why the same topics recur. There is no compactness and symmetry in his design, but whatever topic he touches is endowed with a sublimity, sacredness and piety, not achieved to the same extent by his predecessors. His verse is fluent, chaste, rhythmic, mellifluous, assuring and convincing. People love to read and recite it.

This author reaches the highest peak of imagination and poetry in Chapter XI, where, with the help of supernatural sight, Arjuna sees the Divine form in all its grandeur and terror. This poet has the gift of illustrating abstract ideas in concrete form. Ch. XI is a poetic, mystic and metaphysical description of the very abstract concepts of Time and Space, the eternal elements without a beginning and an end. I am sure no poet can surpass this achievement of the Gītā in the description of Time and Space. This poet has the largest share in the verses used for sacred recitations and prayers by the Indian people. This is the best testimony of the beauty and piety of his composition.

The diversity in style in the three sections of the Gītā is highly suggestive of the plurality of authors.

Diversity in Diction

Applying the criteria of diction, the diversity of authors becomes apparent. There is a more extensive use of new words and concepts in the second phase than in the first, and in the third phase they attain a still higher stage of development. There is probably a gap of about a century between the first phase of the Gītā and the second; and of about three centuries between the second phase and the third. This was a period of evolution and creation of new concepts and new terms. The advancing speculations in metaphysics, philosophy, religion and ethics had given birth to the new terminology needed to express the new doctrines. This progressive advance, growth and evolution is reflected in the three stages of the Gītā. This motion of words is always pro-current and not anti-current; it is Anuloma and not Pratiloma. The words in the first stage may occur in the second, and those in the first and second may occur in the third; but not vice versa. Words used in the third stage would not occur in the second stage, and those from these

two stages would not occur in the first stage. This is a reliable test of diversity which, when applied to the Gītā, discloses a plurality of authors.

Method of Classification

I proceeded to apply the test of diction in order to confirm the diversity of authors. I divided the text into three divisions according to their authors, on the evidence of the instruments and tables described previously. The important words from each section were collected and classified under the categories of (1) Philosophy and Metaphysics, (2) Spiritual and Religious Practices, (3) Ethics and Morals, (4) Ultimate Objectives in Life, (5) Adjectives, and (6) Peculiar words. The study of such a classified vocabulary proves beyond doubt that there is a progressive increase in the number and connotation of words from stage to stage of the Gītā. This is surely not a coincidence and it proves the thesis of three different periods and three authors. For a broad division of the poem over three sections, and for assigning paragraphs or chapters to different authors, the previous classifications and analyses were useful. But in very doubtful cases, where it was impossible to assign with certainty a verse or verses to a particular author, the study of this vocabulary was immensely useful. It is possible to identify an author by the special words and concepts he uses. After an intensive study of the classified vocabulary, this identification of authorship becomes automatic and instinctive. A detailed classification of the words according to the three stages is given in Appendices XIII and XIV. A careful study of these appendices will reveal the progressive nature of the diction and will convince the reader about the stages through which the poem has passed before reaching us.

Grammatical Deviations

A comparison of the errors in grammar discovered in the three sections provides an additional clue to the plurality of the composers. A detailed study of such errors was made by G. K. Modak in an article published in 1948.[1] He has listed these

1. *Prin. Karmarkar Commemoration Volume.* Dandekar, Watve and Gadre (Eds.). 1948. Poona.

errors under different categories, as compounds, cases, verbs, etc. Modak has been careful enough to note each and every mistake of every conceivable type. Distributing these errors or grammatical deviations over the three authors I have described before, it is found that the first, second and third authors have committed 15, 2 and 55 mistakes respectively. If only the serious errors are taken into account, the corresponding figures are 3, 0 and 28 respectively. The second author is perfect in grammar, the first occasionally lapses into errors, but the third does not care much for rules. " Poets are beyond rules " is true in his case. What he lost in grammatical accuracy, he has amply made up by wealth of diction, beauty of style and sublimity of ideas.

VIII

Diversity in Concepts

The idea of multiple authorship emerged as a result of an intensive textual study of the Gītā, with regard to its structure, grammar, exposition, style, diction, terminology, objectives and a number of other aspects. I shall now attempt to see how far this inference, drawn from an external survey of the Gītā, is substantiated by a similar intensive, minute and detailed study of the internal aspects, with regard to concepts, philosophy, ideology and the ultimate message. Before proceeding to a further consideration of these problems, I shall give a broad outline of the three-fold division of the Gītā which is based on the investigations made so far. If these divisions show distinct peculiarities and diversities in the interna, corresponding to those in the externa of the poem, they may be considered as reliable. In this respect, the expectations about diversity should be limited. Differences may be discovered on minor issues and details, not on fundamental issues. If at all there are more authors, they re-edited the already existing poem because they agreed with it on fundamental issues. If they had differences on these, they would have composed separate books of their own, instead of renovating the traditional treatise.

Need for Interpolations

The aim of this chapter is to study the diversities, if any, in philosophy, ultimate goals, forms of worship and such other ideological aspects. While following this discussion, the word interpolation may occur now and then, but it does not indicate any literary offence in the strict modern sense of the word. The words, addition, enlargement, expansion, renovation, re-editing, revision, renovating, would be more appropriate and indicat-

tive of the real aims of the later redactors. They considered it their duty to make the poem up-to-date, by bringing it abreast of their times, through the addition of newer concepts, and the application of old ones to the changing social and religious conditions. They tried to give to their generations a textbook of philosophy and ethics with roots in the past and application to their present.

Tentative Division

For purposes of reference, the rough division of the Gītā that ultimately emerged out of my study is given here in advance, so that readers may be able to follow the discussion with more accuracy. In the previous chapters I have used the terms first, second and third sextets as the creation of the first, third, and the second authors in a very general way. On an actual scrutiny, the division worked out as follows :

1. Chapters I to VI—First and Third authors,
2. Chapters VIII, XIII to XV, XVII and XVIII—Second and Third authors,
3. Chapters VII, IX to XII and XVI—Third author.

The vulgate edition of the Gītā has passed through three consecutive stages, as indicated above. The first author wrote the original six chapters, and the second added six more. In the third stage the new author added his own verses and paragraphs in the compositions of the first two authors, and also added six whole chapters of his own. In doing this he changed the order of the chapters, by inserting his own in the middle of the poem and shifting the work of the second author to the third section. The actual division of the Gītā according to these authors is shown in red, blue and black ink at the end of this book, for purposes of easy reference.

Stages in the Evolution of Philosophical Concepts

The original author accepted the current principles of Sāṅkhya philosophy : the immortality of Soul, its aloofness from matter and the senses, the importance of spiritual knowledge, the psychological attitude of renunciation, the value of self-realisa-

tion and the supremacy of Brahman. Whereas the Sāṅkhya philosophers deduced absolute Renunciation from these tenets, the author of the first Gītā deduced Yoga or the philosophy of spiritual Activism, disinterested Action or devotion to duty. The first author used the materials of the existing philosophy as a basis for his ethics of Action.

The second author added the metaphysics of Sāṅkhya that was developed further during his period : the concepts of ज्ञान, क्षेत्र–क्षेत्रज्ञ, प्रकृति–पुरुष, त्रिगुणभेद, the evolution and disappearance of the universe, the two states of शुक्ल–कृष्णगती after death, and the idea of the Supreme Being or Parama-Puruṣa. In order to make the Gītā up-to-date in philosophy and metaphysics, he included in his supplementary section the concepts that existed at the time. His task was that of addition of new concepts to the Gītā.

After the lapse of a few centuries, the third author redacted the whole poem and gave it the present form. His outstanding contribution was the introduction of devotion or the Bhakti principle. The second author made only a passing reference to devotion to the Supreme Being in Ch. VIII 8 to 10, but did not develop the idea further. Devotion to a personal God in the form of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa was the main refrain of the enlarged Gītā. The third author added new chapters, VII and IX to XII, for this purpose, and also re-edited and enlarged the chapters of the first two authors, in order to align them with the theories of incarnation and devotion. The Vedānta philosophy was developed at this time, but side by side there were also innumerable forms of worship, a diversity in the objects of worship, without any philosophical basis underlying them. The third author brought about a unification of the Sāṅkhya and Vedānta philosophies and supplemented both with the idea of devotion to Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa. He also tried to sublimate the primitive traditional forms of worship by associating them with the idea of the One Supreme Being and devotion to Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.

The first author reduced the conflict between knowledge and action, between Sāṅkhya renunciation and Vedic Karma, by evolving a philosophy of Karma-Yoga. The second author supplied the metaphysics of Sāṅkhya, without any attempt at reconciling it with Vedānta. The third author brought about an integration, unification and synthesis of the Sāṅkhya, Yoga

and Vedāntic doctrines, and gave them a practical simplified form by amplifying the theory of devotion to a personal God, the concrete incarnation of the Supreme Being. The Gītā has thus passed through three stages of philosophical and metaphysical evolution.

Structural Rearrangement

The second author added his chapters to those of the first author without disturbing the previous arrangement. But the third author recast the whole Gītā, by inserting his paragraphs in suitable places in the chapters of the first two authors, so that the original nature of the first two divisions became unidentifiable. He also added six whole chapters of his own in the middle of the poem, and shifted the chapters of the second author to the third section. The additions to the old chapters are anywhere in the beginning, middle or end of the chapters, according to the nature of the subject. This rearrangement of the whole Gītā without much deletion of the old text, has been the main cause of difficulties in interpretation. Chapters VIII and XIII are good illustrations of this confusion. Contradictory theories appear to exist along with the verses which try to unify them. But the dissimilar nature of the old and new portions, in terminology and concepts, confound the reader, especially in the interpretation of the mixed chapters. They appear to be lacking in a unity of design, and present the appearance of a collection of topics. But the whole chapters of the third author, which were not later disturbed by any redactor, appear to possess a unity and wholeness. Similarly the portions of the first two tracts, separated from the later interpolations of the third author, show a symmetrical and unified structure, and do not present any difficulties for understanding. This, to my mind, justifies the division of the Gītā into three different stages.

Ultimate Goals of Life

Certain concepts in Indian philosophy have been traditionally handed down from generation to generation. The difference is in terminology, not in principles. The immortality of the Soul, liberation from birth and death, and identity with the Supreme Being are some of the major concepts. It is interesting

to see how they are expressed in different terms in the different stages of the Gītā.

The first writer uses the following terms to indicate the goals of life : कर्मबन्धं प्रहास्यसि, जन्मबन्धविनिर्मुक्ताः, अमृतत्वाय कल्पते, अनामयं पदम्, परं पदम्, ब्रह्मसंस्पर्शम्, ब्रह्मभूतः, ब्रह्मैव तेन गन्तव्यम्, सिद्धिम्, अत्यन्तं सुखम्, दुःखहानिः, शान्तिः, श्रेयः etc.

The second author uses the old terms and adds some new ones : परमं पुरुषं दिव्यं याति, स तं परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यम्, ब्रह्म गच्छति, चान्द्रमसं ज्योतिः प्राप्य निवर्तते, शुक्ल-कृष्णगती ह्येते जगतः शाश्वते मते, जन्ममृत्युजरामुक्तिः, मोक्षकांक्षिभिः etc.

The third philosopher uses entirely new phrases : मां ज्ञास्यसि, अनुत्तमां गतिं माम्, मामुपेत्य पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते, तद्धाम परमं मम, मां शरणं व्रज, अहं मृत्युसंसारसागरात् समुद्धर्ता, मद्भक्ता यान्ति माम्, वासुदेवः सर्वम्, मद्भावं यान्ति, परं भावं भूतमहेश्वरम्, मोक्ष्यसेऽशुभात्, मोक्ष्यसे कर्मबन्धनैः, etc.

In Appendix VI, I have given an unclassified list of all these terms as they were collected before finalising the division of the Gītā into three stages. Every author shows his own individuality by the use of special terms for some of the fundamental concepts of philosophy.

The Practice of Religion

The way in which the three philosophers deal with the religious practices existing during their periods, and the way they try to sublimate, reconcile or unify them, deserves to be noticed. The attitudes towards Yajña, Brahman and devotional religion show a gradual transition and evolution, indicative of the different periods of the poem.

Yajña or sacrificial ritual was the main religion during the period of the first Gītā. But there was a strong reaction against the formalism of this path, and thinking men began to realise its futility. There was a strong tendency to adopt a life of renunciation or meditation in the forest. The first author repudiated Saṁnyāsa and advocated Karma. Karma during that period meant Yajña-Karma, so he had to give a new, additional meaning to that word and give it a wider and nobler significance. People in those times believed that Yajña was an economic necessity, because it was the source of food, which is dependent upon rains, which are sent by the Gods when offerings are given to them through the medium of Yajña. So Yajña

should be performed with an unselfish motive, with an attitude of sacrifice, abandonment and selfless duty. This is disinterested action. Another thing this author did was to include in the definition of Yajña other religious and spiritual practices such as penance, pursuit of knowledge, meditation, Yoga-abhyāsa and other wholesome practices current at the time :

द्रव्ययज्ञास्तपोयज्ञा योगयज्ञास्तथापरे ।
स्वाध्यायज्ञानयज्ञाश्च यतयः संशितव्रताः ।। (IV 28)

He recognised all these Yajñas but showed his preference for the Jñāna-Yajña, pursuit of spiritual knowledge and philosophy. The first Gītā thus counteracted the reaction against Yajña by widening its meaning, by liberalising, sublimating, philosophising and spiritualising it. It gave equal recognition with Yajña to self-control, mental discipline, knowledge, and meditation. Self-realisation was to be achieved not by abjuring family life and society, not by Saṁnyāsa, but by disinterested execution of duties, by selfless action, with the mind fixed in Yoga.

The Second Stage

During the period that elapsed between the first and the second authors, the objectionable features of Yajña had vanished and it had taken a sacred form of household religious ceremonies, worship and prayers. The second author, therefore, made Yajña an obligatory part of everyday duties; Yajña with all the formalities of recitation of the Vedic hymns, offerings of food and gifts (Ch. XVII 11–13). The other practices of penance, meditation, philanthropy etc. were not, as in the case of the first author, optional to Yajña, but obligatory *along with* Yajña, which must not be abjured for any reason. But they should be performed out of a sense of duty, without an eye on selfish gain, with a higher and sublime objective :

यज्ञदानतपःकर्म न त्याज्यं कार्यमेव तत् ।
यज्ञो दानं तपश्चैव पावनानि मनीषिणाम् ।। (Ch. XVIII 5)

But the refrain of selfless action of the first Gītā is maintained. On that, both poets are one :

एतान्यपि तु कर्माणि सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा फलानि च ।
कर्तव्यानीति मे पार्थ निश्चितं मतमुत्तमम् ।। (Ch. XVIII 6)

The difference between option and compulsion with reference to traditional Yajña distinguishes the two poets from each other.

Yoga-abhyāsa, which was, in vogue in a simple form like self-meditation or meditation on Brahman, was more advanced during the second stage. Dhyāna or Meditation as everyday religious practice, and for the ultimate moment of voluntary parting of the Soul from the body, was recommended by the second author :

अभ्यासयोगयुक्तेन चेतसा नान्यगामिना ।
परमं पुरुषं दिव्यं याति पार्थानुचिन्तयन् ।। (VIII 8)
ध्यानेनात्मनि पश्यन्ति केचिदात्मानमात्मना । (XIII 24)

The first author established the necessity and a philosophy of desireless action, but left the choice of action to the discriminating wisdom and intelligence of the individual. This was not enough for ordinary persons who need definite guidance as to what is good and what is bad, who are not always able to distinguish between correct and wrong action, desirable and undesirable attitudes, as also between true and false modes of worship and religious practices. The second author, therefore, gave a practical turn to the Sāṅkhya theory of Three Qualities (त्रिगुण), and prescribed details of worship, Yajña, charity, penance, actions, knowledge, will and intelligence (Ch. XVII and XVIII). The individuality of this author lies in his simultaneous emphasis on the triune of Yajña, Dāna and Tapas; Sacrifices, Philanthropy and Penance. He is more of an orthodox Mīmāṁsaka than the first and the third authors.

The Third Stage

The attitude of the third philosopher towards Yajña is entirely different from that of the first two. He gives it no importance at all, devalues it whenever possible and makes it subordinate and inferior to the devotional worship of a personal God. For a person desirous of liberation, the true path is that of surrender to God, not Yajña which leads to the cycle of births and deaths

(Ch. IX 16 to 21). The three attitudes of the authors towards Yajña substantially confirm the thesis of multiple authorship. The first concludes : तदर्थं (यज्ञार्थं) कर्म समाचर । (III 9), and बहुविधाः यज्ञाः । (IV 32). The second affirms यज्ञदानतपःकर्म न त्याज्यं कार्यमेव तत् । (XVIII 5). But the third says, त्रैविद्याः गतागतं लभन्ते । मर्त्यलोकं विशन्ति । (Ch. IX 20, 21) यज्ञानां जपयज्ञोऽस्मि । (X 25). The three approaches are those of option, obligation and subordination. Subtle differences no doubt, but very important when Yajña was a living issue.

A variety of religious practices and forms of worship prevailed during the third period of the Gītā. In addition to the schools of meditation and reflection on the Supreme Being, which were confined to a few, there were several objects of worship to which men were devoted. Ch. X deserves to be studied from this point of view. The Vedic Deities like Indra, Varuṇa, Agni; the traditional deities like Viṣṇu, Śaṅkar, Rāma, Vāsudeva; the demi-Gods like Yama, Kubera; ancient sages like Bhṛgu, Nārada; mythological objects like Vāsuki, Vainateya; holy things like Himālaya, Jāhnavī; abstract principles like Soul, Time and Death; these were diverse objects of worship. There were also worshippers of ancestors, the dead and evil spirits. The task of the third author was to integrate, sublimate and interpret these diverse modes of worship by supplying them with a philosophy and a meaning. This he did by advocating the devotional religion of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, who was an embodiment of the abstract Supreme Being. All modes of worship indirectly and unconsciously lead to Him, whether the worshippers know it or not. To be aware of this is real knowledge; the knower is the favourite of God.

The most salient contribution of the third author lies in the fact that he brought religion and salvation within the reach of the common people. He democratised and popularised spirituality which was once the sole prerogative of the upper few. The modes of worship which he advocated were simple, cheap, easy, liberal, adjustable, intelligible and practicable, as contrasted with the difficult practices of meditation, penance and Yajña. He offered salvation to the underdog in society. Traders, merchants, workers, women, offenders, untouchables—all were welcome to surrender themselves to Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and thus

achieve redemption. This is the greatest achievement of the third author, which has influenced and shaped Indian society over the last two thousand years and more.

The thread of selfless devotion to duty runs through the teachings of all three authors, with a difference. The first two advocated duty for its own sake, without craving for its reward. This, the third author realised, was too abstract a principle for the masses to practise. For them he provided a short-cut to selfless action. "Surrender all actions to God. Your duty is your worship of God. Work is worship. Do not worry about the results of your actions; dedicate them to God, He will take care of their good or evil effects." Instead of the previous idea of ब्रह्मार्पण–कर्मन् he advocated the idea of कृष्णार्पण–कर्मन्. Brahma was an abstraction, Kṛṣṇa was concrete.

Bhakti through Stages

The evolution of the Gītā through three stages is best exemplified in the treatment of the principle of Devotion by the three authors. In the first stage of the Gītā, there is no mention of Bhakti, neither the word nor the concept. The emphasis is on intellectual discrimination, Buddhi, and pursuit of spiritual knowledge, Jñāna. The poet describes the path of Brahma through self-introspection (VI 20–28). The idea is to shut out all desires and thoughts and to melt away into the Eternal, spiritually.

The second philosopher casually mentions Bhakti in two verses, in Ch. VIII 10 and 22 : प्रयाणकाले मनसाचलेन भक्त्या युक्तो योगबलेन चैव । and पुरुषः स परः पार्थ भक्त्या लभ्यस्त्वनन्यया । But this devotion is directed towards an abstract Supreme Being, whose form is inconceivable (अचिन्त्यरूपम्) and whose lustre is like that of the Sun (आदित्यवर्णम्). This is the first stage of Bhakti. The object is परमपुरुष, the Supreme Spirit, equivalent to ब्रह्मन्, yet abstract and unseen.

The third poet has made Bhakti the main theme of his redaction; devotion for Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, the human embodiment of the Supreme Spirit. He realised the difficulties of the ordinary mortals in conceiving God as an abstract idea, and therefore gave them a God in the form of a concrete human being, who can be seen, worshipped, loved, dreamt of, talked to and cherished in the heart by his devotees.

दृष्ट्वेदं मानुषं रूपं तव सौम्यं जनार्दन ।
इदानीमस्मि संवृत्तः सचेताः प्रकृतिं गतः ।। (XI 51)

The complete re-editing of the Gītā on the Bhakti principle, by inserting stanzas in appropriate places in the old texts, and by adding entirely new chapters in the centre of the poem, created the present vulgate.

The Philosophy of Action and Duty

All the three authors agree on the principle of Karma, action or duty. The first gave it a philosophical basis; the second showed its practical application; and the third taught its dedication to God.

The difference is seen not in the principle but in the content and meaning of the word according to the contemporary situation. During the first stage, Karma included regular sacrificial rituals, penance, yoga-abhyāsa, and pursuit of knowledge. During the second period, the author insisted on regular sacrificial rituals, philanthropic gifts and penance of body, mind and speech (Ch. XVII and XVIII). During the third period, greater emphasis was placed on the duties of the four classes according to qualities and capacities. Performance of one's duties in the name of God was essential, for the integration of society (लोकसंग्रह) and for averting a state of social anarchy (संकर) and disintegration (IV 13, XVIII 41 to 43). Salvation is achieved through duty consecrated to God.

स्वे स्वे कर्मण्यभिरतः संसिद्धिं लभते नरः । (XVIII 45)
स्वकर्मणा तमभ्यर्च्य सिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः । (XVIII 47)

The unity of construction and motive is thus restored, in spite of the interpolations, by the theory and application of yoga, selfless action, devotion to work, duty for its own sake—the supreme message of the Gītā, on which the three philosophers are unanimous.

Renunciation or Saṁnyāsa

The attitudes of the three philosophers towards Renunciation or Saṁnyāsa show certain fundamental differences. The

original author considers that Saṁnyāsa and Karma both lead to spiritual goals, but he prefers and recommends Karma : तयोस्तु कर्मसंन्यासात् कर्मयोगो विशिष्यते । (V 2). The mental preparation for Saṁnyāsa can only be made through Karma, and when that is done, Karma may be continued or Saṁnyāsa in the last stage of life may be accepted (VI 3).

The second poet does not at all favour Saṁnyāsa at any stage of life. The regular duties (नियतं कम) must be done to the last. The third philosopher does not give much importance to Saṁnyāsa as a stage in life. In his opinion, the whole of life should be lived in the attitude, not practice, of Saṁnyāsa :

ज्ञेयः स नित्यसंन्यासी यो न द्वेष्टि न कांक्षति ।
निर्द्वन्द्वो हि महाबाहो सुखं बन्धात्प्रमुच्यते ॥ (V 3)

There are very few references to Saṁnyāsa as such. But the main emphasis of the third poet is on Vairāgya (Detachment), which should for ever be a way and a philosophy of life. Saṁnyāsa may come at one stage in life, but detachment pervades the whole of life, through and through. The repeated descriptions of ideal persons like स्थितप्रज्ञ, ज्ञानिन्, भक्त, गुणातीत, etc. are full of epithets and attributes which indicate the nature of detachment. Curiously enough, in contemporary literature, these very attributes were applied to Saṁnyāsa or renunciation, which fact was probably responsible for the negative interpretations of the Gītā by commentators like Śaṅkara. Some of these adjectives like विजितात्मा, कामक्रोधवियुक्तः, सर्वभूतात्मभूतात्मा denote moral and social virtues which are desirable for all persons. But adjectives like त्यक्तसर्वपरिग्रह, यदृच्छालाभसंतुष्ट, मोक्षपरायण, उदासीन, सर्वारम्भपरित्यागी, पुत्रदारगृहादिषु अनभिष्वङ्गः, निराश्रयः, अनिकेतः, विविक्तसेवी, लघ्वाशी, जनसंसदि अरतिः etc. show that strong emphasis is placed on a negative detachment, so that Saṁnyāsa, which was repudiated by the first two authors, entered by the back door in the third stage in a different form. Saṁnyāsa is absolute cessation of duties and family life, whereas Vairāgya is the attitude of perfect detachment while pursuing the social and domestic affairs of every-day life. Liberation and self-realisation can be achieved even by an active person through this attitude of detachment.

The attitude of the three authors towards Saṁnyāsa is probably indicative of contemporary social conditions. During the first stage, the leading class in society was dominated by the Sāṅkhya and Upaniṣadic philosophy of renunciation, therefore an antidote of Actionist philosophy was necessary. During the second stage, the emphasis was on systematic (विधियुक्त) performance of Yajña, Dāna and Tapas. During the third period, society had gone to the other extreme of atheism, materialism, hedonism and hypocrisy, and therefore an insistence on detachment, without encouraging Saṁnyāsa, was necessary. Chapter XVI gives a graphic account of the society which the third author had around him.

Ultimate Messages

The teachings of the three philosophers, though supplementary to each other, show certain fundamental differences. The first author only gave a theoretical justification and defence of selfless action. His main concern was how to escape the results and outcomes of action—Karma-doṣa. The teaching of the second philosopher is based on a knowledge of human nature. He recognised the diversity in human temperaments, and described the corresponding diversity in intelligence, attitudes and actions. The third author taught the common man the philosophy of selfless action through devotion and dedication of all work at the feet of a personal God. Unity in fundamental principles and diversity in application, became the keynote of the reconstructed Gītā. Diversity does not necessarily mean opposition or even difference. It may assume the form of reinforcing of old concepts, addition of new ideas, and new applications of old doctrines. These have greatly offset the interpolatory character of the poem.

IX

Some More Diversities

Cosmological Concepts

EVERY ANCIENT system of religion and philosophy has some theories about the creation of the universe and living creatures. The Gītā offers not one but more cosmological theories, which testify to the plurality of authors. I shall compare the theories as they appear in the three stages of the poem.

In the first stage of the Gītā, there are two indirect references suggestive of creation and dissolution. सहयज्ञाः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा पुरोवाच प्रजापतिः (III 10). Prajāpati created all living creatures along with Yajña. Another reference is vague :

> अव्यक्तादीनि भूतानि व्यक्तमध्यानि भारत ।
> अव्यक्तनिधनान्येव तत्र का परिदेवना ।। (II 28)

Here the term Avyakta may mean just unseen or it may be the Prakṛti of Sāṅkhya. The same idea occurs in the Mahābhārata-Strī-parva (II 6) :

> अभावादीनि भूतानि भावमध्यानि भारत ।
> अभावनिधनान्येव .....।।

This suggests that the first author uses Avyakta in the sense of Abhāva—non-existence, unseen, un-emerged state.

The second author, in accordance with his encyclopaedic attitude, gives all the contemporary theories, the Traditional, the Sāṅkhya and the Vedāntic. "When the day of Brahman dawns, the universe emerges out of the Avyakta, and at night-fall melts away in the same" (VIII 18). The Sāṅkhya theory of Prakṛti and Puruṣa as the cause of creation is given in Ch.

XIII 19–23. The third similar theory occurs in Ch. XIII 26 : "All existence owes its origin to Kṣetra and Kṣetrajña". It should be noted that the second author makes no attempt to unify the diverse concepts.

The third author takes up all the existing theories, and unifies them with his own concept of devotional theism. The traditional Sāṅkhya and Vedānta theories are skilfully integrated, but owing to the retention of the old verses, the inherent differences disclose themselves and embarrass the common reader. The active Divine element in the old theories is identified with the Supreme Being, who has appeared on earth in the human form of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa.

मम योनिर्महद्ब्रह्म । अहं बीजप्रदः पिता ।
संभवः सर्वभूतानां ततो भवति भारत ।। (XIV 3, 4)

The Sāṅkhya, Vedānta and Bhakti ideas are mixed up in Ch. IX 7, 8, 10; but they refuse to be integrated, and cause more confusion in the mind of readers.

The theories given above have more than one author. If they had been present in the mind of the original poet, they would have been presented in a systematic and consistent form.

Description of the Elements

Indian systems of philosophy have their own theories about the elements in the universe. In the Gītā, there are three theories corresponding to the three philosophers.

The original author mentions the names of these elements in another context :

इन्द्रियाणि पराण्याहुरिन्द्रियेभ्यः परं मनः ।
मनसस्तु परा बुद्धिर्यो बुद्धेः परतस्तु सः ।। (III 42)

The first author recognises seven elements besides the Soul, which I exclude from the count for ease of comparison; the other two theories also exclude the Soul. A very similar idea occurs in the Kaṭha Upaniṣad, where some more elements like अर्थाः and अव्यक्तम् are included besides आत्मा and पुरुषः परः (Kaṭha 1. 3. 10 and 11). Since the first author, on the lines of

the Kaṭha text, gives his own different version, it is intentional, and may be regarded as his considered view in this respect.

The second author, who has given Sāṅkhya theory in greater detail in other respects, mentions twenty-four elements :

महाभूतान्यहंकारो बुद्धिरव्यक्तमेव च ।
इन्द्रियाणि दशैक च पञ्च चेन्द्रियगोचराः ।। (XIII 5)

He further goes on to describe the Vikāras or evolutes, but they are not counted here, in this comparison.

The third author, in his entirely new Chapter VII, accepts the eightfold-elements theory :

भूमिरापोऽनलो वायुः खं मनो बुद्धिरेव च ।
अहङ्कार इतीयं मे भिन्ना प्रकृतिरष्टधा ।। (VII 4)

Commentators have tried to unify and reconcile these three theories, but the subtle difference and the diversity is clear as sunshine. To many rational interpreters, the metaphysics of the Gītā is puzzling and inexplicable. If the three-division thesis is accepted, interpretation becomes exceedingly simple. I am interested, not in three authors or three divisions, but a rational and honest interpretation of the text.

The Soul and the Supreme Being

The concept of Soul is expressed in different terms by the three writers. The first mentions it by the words शरीरिन्, देहिन् and the pronouns सः, तत् etc. The second calls Him क्षेत्रज्ञ and पुरुष. The third uses all these previous terms and adds the word Ātman—आत्मन्.

The Supreme Being similarly assumes different names in the three consecutive phases. The first author calls it Brahman; the second terms it Brahman and Parama Puruṣa; and the third indicates it by Paramātman, Puruṣottam, Brahman, Vāsudeva and several other epithets meaning the Highest God.

The mutual relation between Prakṛti, or Matter, the Soul and the Supreme Being is expressed in so many different ways that, in the later period, it gave birth to different schools of thought based on Advaita, Dvaita and several combinations

of the two ! They find authority in the Gītā for their different points of view. Fundamentally, the three philosophers agree that the Supreme Being is the universal principle of which Matter and the Soul are only a fraction, and the individual Soul can become identified with and merge into the Universal Soul.

The first author expresses the idea in IV 24; ब्रह्मैव तेन गन्तव्यं ब्रह्मकर्म समाधिना । and again VI 27, 28; ब्रह्मभूतम् and ब्रह्मसंस्पर्शम्. The second author describes objectively the dualism between Prakṛti and Puruṣa, and also the Vedāntic concept of non-dualism.

प्रकृतिं पुरुषं चैव विद्ध्यनादी उभावपि । (XIII 19)

परस्तस्मात्तु भावोऽन्योऽव्यक्तोऽव्यक्तात्सनातनः । (VIII 20)

पुरुषः स परः पार्थ भक्त्या लभ्यस्त्वनन्यया ।। (VIII 22)

The second author does not show whether he accepts or refutes the dualism of Sāṅkhya; and the commentators do not realise that he is only mentioning the contemporary theories. This fact has given rise to the controversies on dualism and non-dualism in later times.

The third author accepts the identity of the Supreme Being, Matter and the Soul. He has expressed these views in a number of places, which are well-known to readers of the Gītā. This poet inserts his own verses in between the Sāṅkhya verses of the second author, in order to give them a definitely theistic and Vedāntic form (VIII 21, XIII 22, 31; XIV 3, 4).

Forms and Objects of Worship

The evolution of deities and forms of worship is seen in the three phases of the Gītā. The first author refers to deities connected with sacrificial rites, and advises people to propitiate them by offerings; देवान् भावयतानेन etc. (III 11). During the period of the second author, other objects of worship had come into existence. Besides the sacrificial deities, there were Yakṣas, Rākṣasas and evil spirits :

यजन्ते सात्त्विका देवान् यक्षरक्षांसि राजसाः ।
प्रेतान्भूतगणांश्चान्ये यजन्ते तामसा जनाः ।। (XVII 4)

The third author refers to diverse forms of worship and religious practices in Chapters VII, IX, X and XVI. Idol worship had come into vogue; यो यो यां यां तनुं भक्तः श्रद्धयार्चितुमिच्छति । (VII 21). In order to unify, integrate, harmonise and sublimate the diverse forms of worship of various classes in society, the third philosopher, who was also an intelligent far-sighted sociologist, introduced the worship of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa in human form. The Universal Soul assumed a human form with a crown, mace and a missile (किरीटिनं गदिनं चक्रिणं च—XI 17, 46), so that the common people may worship him. The new forms of worship were simple, contrasted with the old sacrificial ritualism and abstract contemplation. Offerings of water, leaves, fruits and flowers, prayers, meditation, discussions, etc. were enough. Religious practices were brought within the reach of the rich and the poor, classes and masses, scholars and workers. The worship of a concrete personal deity is the hallmark of the third stage of the Gītā.

Side by side with these popular forms of worship, the higher forms of worship of the abstract Supreme Being were also in existence, during the times of the three authors. आत्मनाऽत्मानं पश्यन्नात्मनि तुष्यति । (VI 20), ध्यानेनात्मनि पश्यन्ति—etc. (XIII 24, 25); ये त्वक्षरमनिर्देश्यमव्यक्तं पर्युपासते (XII 3, 4). But these were confined to sages, philosophers, ascetics and recluses, and have continued as a common accepted heritage through all the three stages.

Rebirth and Immortality

Human beings, primitive and civilized, have an eternal interest in the problems of birth, death and the state beyond. Every religion has some theory on this subject. The various Indian systems agree on certain fundamental concepts, but the terminology in which they are expressed indicates variety and diversity. Birth, death, old age and disease are the tragedies of life. Rebirth itself is a calamity. Several paths of liberation are suggested. The whole mode of life and the mental state, throughout life and at the time of death, should be such that man shall attain salvation and be free from the cycle of birth and death. All these concepts occur in the Gītā with a difference which indicates the three periods in which they were in vogue.

It is very significant that the very opening topic of the Gītā is the problem of sin, birth, death, immortality and transmigration of the Soul. Out of the unseen you emerge, exist for a moment and melt away in the unknown. Birth and death follow each other until by his own spiritual efforts man identifies himself with Brahman and becomes immortal. Escape from this cycle can be achieved by a discipline of the mind and the Yogic way of life. Gradually learn to eschew desires, hankerings and passions, and work with a serene poised attitude. Every day, spend some time in quiet meditation, and become one with the Universal Soul—the state of Brahman. This will ensure the highest joy and an end of all misery (Ch. II and VI). This is the path advocated by the Original Gītā. It is supported by the other authors also.

The second stage of the poem gives the three theories of Sāṅkhya, Vedānta and Yoga. According to Sāṅkhya school, the Puruṣa (Soul) associates with the qualities of the Prakṛti (Matter) and is born in a good or bad state (XIII 21). Consequently, the qualities of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas—sublime, gross and debased—lead to birth in the higher, intermediate or lower form of life (XIV 14–18). When the soul realizes its separate identity from that of Matter, it becomes free. This realization or knowledge automatically brings about salvation and liberation (IV 20 and XIII 34). The second author stated honestly and objectively this Sāṅkhya view without mixing his own ideas in it. The later author, however, inserted new verses in between the old ones in order to give a Vedāntic turn to the whole theory.

The second author also describes how the Abhyāsa Yoga helps the Yogin to attain the proximity of the Parama Puruṣa, the Universal Soul, shining as the Sun, by a control over the vital processes of life and meditation, at the time of death (VIII 8–10). For this voluntary final departure, the appropriate times are also suggested, so that a person may go either to the stage of Brahman or the Moon-stage of rebirths (VIII 23–26).

The third author develops the ideas still further, and brings immortality and salvation within the reach of all human beings, by more simple and natural methods. He believes that persons going to the Brahman stage are also born again and again. But

'resorting to Me there is no rebirth' (VIII 16); मामुपेत्य पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते । . This life is evanescent and replete with sorrow, but devotion shows the way out (VIII 15). For persons without devotion, there are three stages of heaven, earth and inferno. Sacrificial rituals may help a person to attain heaven, but after his reward is exhausted, he is born on earth again, to continue the cycle of births. Even a Yogin who is imperfect, is born again and again before attaining salvation (VI 41 and VII 19). Unbelievers in Me, victims of anger and lust, and persons of devilish temperaments return to the inferno or the demonic form of life (XVI 19, 20). Your beliefs throughout life follow you to the death-bed and determine the state after death. Therefore, the Yogin and devotee should resort to Yoga discipline, control the vital breath, meditate with Om on lips and heart on Me, and depart from this world to attain one-ness with the Universal Soul. No more, then, the pangs of life and death (VIII 12–15).

It will be clear that though the idea of the undesirability of the birth-death cycle is common to all the three stages, there is a diversity of views with regard to the mode of departing from this life and the state of the Soul after death. There is a sort of evolution in Indian eschatology during the three periods of the Gītā.

Attitude Towards Pleasure and Pain

Every philosopher has a particular slant towards material happiness. In this respect, there are subtle differences among the three writers of the Gītā, which show their individuality. A discussion of this subject is important for the modern age dominated by the concept of material pleasures.

The first author has shown the relation and values of the organs of senses, the mind, intellect and the Soul. All of them are important in their own way but there is a hierarchy of values. The organs of senses are important; but the mind, intellect and the Soul are superior to it one above the other.

इन्द्रियाणि पराण्याहुरिन्द्रियेभ्यः परं मनः ।
मनसस्तु परा बुद्धिर्यो बुद्धेः परतस्तु सः ।। (III 42)

It is a question of lower and higher values. The organs may be attracted towards the objects of their senses; let them follow their course; do not artificially restrain them too much. The mind should be detached from the organs and their pleasures. If that gets involved, the person becomes a victim of the organs, and may come to grief.

इन्द्रियस्येन्द्रियस्यार्थे रागद्वेषौ व्यवस्थितौ ।
तयोर्न वशमागच्छेत्तौ ह्यस्य परिपन्थिनौ ।। (III 34)

Pleasure and pain are natural. What can bodily restraint do ? निग्रहः किं करिष्यति । (III 33). Keep the bodily organs under the control of the mind and reason and let them follow their natural course.

The first philosopher is not opposed to entertaining a desire for happiness, provided it is accompanied by the attitude and spirit of sacrifice. First offer to the Gods and the others, and then enjoy the residual; do not be selfish. इष्टान् भोगान् हि वो देवा दास्यन्ते यज्ञभाविताः । तैर्दत्तानप्रदायैभ्यो यो भुंक्ते स्तेन एव सः । (III 12). यज्ञशिष्टाशिनः सन्तो मुच्यन्ते सर्वकिल्बिषैः । (III 13). This teaching is in the spirit of the Īśa-Upaniṣad, तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः । . Real happiness, however, is supra-sensual and intellectual—सुखमात्यन्तिकं यत्तद् बुद्धिग्राह्यमतीन्द्रियम् । . The highest pleasure is achieved in the mood of contemplation (VI 21, 27).

The second author is in favour of those pleasures which give eternal happiness. He divides them into three categories : sublime, gross and debased—Sāttvika, Rājasa and Tāmasa—and recommends the sublime pleasures, because they give happiness all along from beginning to end. This is the test of pleasures, be they physical, mental, intellectual or spiritual (XVII 8, 9; XVIII 36–39).

The second philosopher also gives the Sāṅkhya theory, that pleasure and pain are due to identification of the Soul with Matter. When enlightenment dawns, there is an end to pleasure, pain and the cycle of life. Birth, death, age or disease come to an end (XIV 20).

The moral aspects of bodily pleasure and pain are treated in greater details by the third philosopher. He has injected into the Gītā a powerful moral and ethical sentiment, from beginn-

ing to end. The attitude of detachment, Vairāgya, which he repeatedly advocates, comes very near to the old system of renunciation—Saṁnyāsa. "Pleasures and desires should follow Dharma", he suggests; धर्माविरुद्धो कामोऽस्मि (VII 11). But on the whole he advises us to desist as far as possible from worldly pleasures of the senses. One should especially keep under control lust and anger, Kāma and Krodha, because they are the enemies of man that lead him to perdition. The advocacy of devotion is intimately associated with the attitude of detachment; Bhakti and Vairāgya go together. This was probably the influence of the contemporary Buddhistic, Jain and other Monastic philosophies, which made it necessary for any new school of thought to place emphasis either on Vairāgya or on Saṁnyāsa. The distinction between them has already been explained.

तस्माद्यस्य महाबाहो निगृहीतानि सर्वशः ।
इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियार्थेभ्यस्तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता ।। (II 68)

All bodily pleasures end in sorrow; avoid them.

ये हि संस्पर्शजा भोगा दुःखयोनय एव ते ।
आद्यन्तवन्तः कौन्तेय न तेषु रमते बुधः ।। (V 22)

The real mark of a wise man is his indifference to and aloofness from the pleasures of the world and family life, coupled with devotion to Me, the personal God Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa; इद्रियार्थेषु वैराग्यम् । जन्म-मृत्यु-जरा-व्याधि-दुःखदोषानुदर्शनम् । पुत्रदारगृहादिषु अनभिष्वङ्गः । मयि चानन्ययोगेन भक्तिरव्यभिचारिणी । एतज्ज्ञानमिति प्रोक्तम् ।। etc. (XIII 8–11). This is enlightenment, Jñāna.

The greatest contribution of the third author lies in his repeated advocacy of rising above the dualisms in life. This philosophy is of the highest value for the modern age. Life is full of all types of physical and mental dualisms; pleasure and pain; heat and cold; happiness and sorrow; success and failure; fame and dishonour; wealth and poverty; praise and blame; friend and foe; and several other conflicting experiences mentioned in the Gītā in a number of places. Man should cultivate an attitude of equipoise, mental balance, serenity, rising

head and shoulders above these dualisms, and maintaining an inward equilibrium and sublimity. Happiness is not outside but within yourself. Rise above the conflicts of life. This teaching is the greatest contribution of the third author.

The differences are minute and subtle; but they are there, and should be understood.

The Process of Knowledge

The word knowledge, Jñāna, in the Gītā is used in the sense of spiritual knowledge, enlightenment or realization of the ultimate principles in life. The first author attributes the greatest importance to knowledge. It emerges from within the self of a person, who carries on his Yoga and works with a balanced mind and equanimity; तत् स्वयं योगसंसिद्धः कालेनात्मनि विन्दति । (IV 38). Knowledge is like fire; it has the power to reduce to ashes sin and the evil effects of action (IV 19, 37). The pursuit of knowledge is a superior form of sacrifice (IV 33).

The second author upholds the Sāṅkhya theory that knowledge about the nature of the Soul and Matter leads to liberation (XIII 23, 34). He gives three categories of knowledge according to the perception of unity or variety in the universe. The highest form of knowledge helps a person to realize the unity of the Soul underlying the diversity of living creatures (XVIII 20–22). The nature of Buddhi, intelligence or discriminating capacity, is also classified as sublime, gross, and debased. The higher type of intelligence is able to discriminate between good and evil; the gross type is confused; and the debased type perverts good into evil and the other way (XVIII 29–32).

For the third poet, knowledge is something that is given by the preceptor or by God. तद् विद्धि प्रणिपातेन प प्रश्नेन सेवया । उपदेक्ष्यन्ति ते ज्ञानं ज्ञानिनस्तत्त्वदर्शिनः ।। (IV 34) You should approach the master with humility and curiosity. Another source of spiritual knowledge is devotion to God, especially Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa. He removes the curtain of ignorance over the mind and discloses the discipline of intelligence, out of compassion and love (X 10, 11).

तेषां सतत युक्तानां भजतां प्रीतिपूर्वकम् ।
ददामि बुद्धियोगं तं येन मामुपयान्ति ते ।। (X 10)

तेषामेवानुकम्पार्थमहमज्ञानजं तमः ।
नाशयाम्यात्मभावस्थो ज्ञानदीपेन भास्वता ।। (X 11)

The third author lays the greatest emphasis on knowledge and his independent chapters begin with some reference or other to the value of Jñāna-Vijñāna about the Divine. It is the most secret lore and issues forth from Me, the Divine Being (X 4, 5; XVIII 63, 64).

These concepts of knowledge are supplementary to each other, but the emphasis of the first on self-effort and the third on God and the preceptor deserves to be carefully noted. The difference between Sāṅkhya and other views also should be noted.

Concepts of Sin and Virtue (Pāpa-Puṇya)

The concepts of sin and virtue were highly developed during the third period of the Gītā, as a consequence, probably, of the birth of mythological literature. The third author refers to these concepts, Pāpa and Puṇya, in about sixteen different places. Sin clings to a person who does not carry out the duties assigned to his class (II 33, 38), and to those who resort to anger and lust (III 36, 37). The most sinful person will achieve salvation, be liberated from sin, will attain greatness, if he surrenders wholeheartedly to Me—the Divine Being (IX 30, 31).

The second author does not even once use the words Pāpa and Puṇya; he sometimes refers to sukṛta and duṣkṛta.

The first author uses the word sin twice or thrice, but does not use the word Puṇya at all. He discusses the problem of sin and virtue in terms of sukṛta and duṣkṛta.

Moral and Ethical Emphasis

The emphasis of the first author is on individual salvation or attainment of the stage of Brahman, through duty and meditation. The second author visualizes a wholesome pious domestic life in which there is adequate scope for sacrificial rites, worship, philanthropic acts and the practice of virtue in general. The third author appears to emphasise the social point of view more than the first two writers. He has given to the poem a wider and more liberal social outlook, both from the secular and spiritual points of view. His main concern is social integration

(Loka-Saṅgraha), prevention of disintegration through confusion of assigned duties (Saṅkar), the sanctity of the social classes based on duties and qualities (Chāturvarṇyam guṇa-karma-vibhāgaśah), and equal opportunities to all people in worship and salvation. Equality and balance (Sama, Samattva) is the refrain of the first and the third authors. The second has not once referred to equality in any sense.

The first author defines equality in the sense of equanimity; सिद्धचसिद्धचोः समो भूत्वा समत्वं योग उच्यते । (II 48). The third writer has used these words on about eleven occasions, in the social as well as the psychological sense. समं सर्वेषु भूतेषु तिष्ठन्तं परमेश्वरम् । (XIII 27). समं पश्यन् हि सर्वत्र समवस्थितमीश्वरम् । (XIII 28). God and the Yogin treat all with equality. This is the view of the third philosopher. Then from the social point of view, consider all people and beings as equal; therein lies the wisdom of the scholar. विद्याविनयसंपन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि । शुनि चैव श्वपाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिनः ।। (V 18). And before the throne of God, there is no discrimination, provided devotion and absolute faith are offered; समोऽहं सर्वभूतेषु न मे द्वेष्योऽस्ति न प्रियः । ये भजन्ति तु मां भक्त्या मयि ते तेषु चाप्यहम् ।। (IX 29). This equality of the third author is inherited by the Bhāgavata Dharma as a great legacy.

In contrast with the first two authors, who have preached an active and pious life in a general way, the third author has laid the greatest emphasis on the development and inculcation of moral qualities. Individual and social virtues are the hallmark of the ideal perfect individuals he has described in Chapters II, XII, XIV and XVI. He knew that mere moral preaching was not enough. The moral qualities as exemplified by ideal persons like Karma-Yogin, Bhakta, Guṇātīta, and Daivī Sampat Puruṣa, can only be understood and imitated by the common people. In order to drive home moral qualities like truth, purity, mercy, tolerance, charity, self-control, penance, courtesy, humanity and others, he has repeated them again and again. The fault of repetition is due to his love and anxiety for the moral ideal. On the negative side he is equally ruthless in denouncing atheism, materialism, hedonism, selfishness, cruelty, anti-social conduct and hypocrisy (Ch. XI). The bias towards Vairāgya or detachment from life was due to the spirit of that age. He had to reconcile action, detachment and devotional theism.

Limitations of the Power of Man

The three authors of the Gītā recognise the principle that human power is limited by outside factors. The actions of men and the results thereof are under the control of forces beyond their power, which is limited to the performance of duties assigned to them. The different ways in which this principle is expressed by the three philosophers is interesting from the viewpoint of the evolution of concepts.

The first author accepts the Sāṅkhya doctrine that actions are the outcome of the qualities of Nature (Prakṛti), and the human being ignorantly considers himself to be the agent.

प्रकृतेः क्रियमाणानि गुणैः कर्माणि सर्वशः ।
अहङ्कार-विमूढात्मा कर्ताहमिति मन्यते ।। (III 27)

But the wise man knows that action is due to the working of the three qualities of Nature and remains calm; गुणा गुणेषु वर्तन्त इति मत्वा न सज्जते । (III 28). The same truth is again expressed in Ch. V 14, 15, where Swabhāva, the original nature, is held responsible for capacity, actions and outcomes.

न कर्तृत्वं न कर्माणि लोकस्य सृजति प्रभुः ।
न कर्मफलसंयोगं स्वभावस्तु प्रवर्तते ।। (V 14)

नादत्ते कस्यचित् पापं न चैव सुकृतं विभुः ।। (V 15)

The second author has mathematically apportioned the responsibility of actions and their outcomes to five different factors on the basis of the Sāṅkhya which was in an advanced stage during this period. There are five factors: अधिष्ठानं तथा कर्ता करणं च पृथग्विधम् । विविधाश्च पृथक् चेष्टा दैवं चैवात्र पञ्चमम् ।। (XVIII 14). The situation, the agent, the means, the actions and the Divine element, these are the five factors which determine action and its result. The agent, therefore, cannot solely claim credit or discredit for the success or failure of an act. The unseen Divine factor sometimes decides the outcome. But the threefold division of the agent and his actions in Ch. XVIII shows that the

second author considers that man has some control over his life. He is not entirely for fatalism or pre-determinism.

The third author is an advocate of Divine dispensation. Along with Prakṛti and Swabhāva of the first author and the Daiva of the second, Divine will is considered by the third author to be the motive power in man. "He compels men to move as if they are mounted on machines, and decides the outcomes of their actions. Men are merely instruments for executing the Divine plan. The remedy lies in abjuring all egoism and surrendering to Him." "I will liberate you from all sin"—अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः । so says Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa. ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां हृद्देशेऽर्जुन तिष्ठति । भ्रामयन् सर्वभूतानि यन्त्रारूढानि मायया ।। The remedy is complete submission : तमेव शरणं गच्छ सर्वभावेन भारत । Through His mercy—salvation; through your egoism—perdition (Ch. XVIII 61, 62, 66).

A comparison and contrast shows the different individuality and the viewpoint of each of the three philosophers.

The Problem of Consequences

The main problem of ethics taken up by the original Gītā in the context of the battlefield situation was how to avoid the consequences of action; how to escape sin. The contemporary solution was absolute renunciation from life. The original solution of the Gītā was, not renunciation of action, but renunciation of the fruits of action. The next two authors substantially agreed with this central thesis; therefore they amplified the Gītā on the basis of that principle, but made additions, modifications and applications suitable for their own age. So in the Gītā there is unity of the main theme, but diversity in its application.

The message of the first author is well-known : कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन । (II 47). "Actions you can control, not the consequences; do not hanker after the fruit of your work." The second author applies the same principle to man's duties :

> तदित्यनभिसन्धाय फलं यज्ञ-तपःक्रियाः ।
> दानक्रियाश्च विविधाः क्रियन्ते मोक्षकाङ्क्षिभिः ।। (XVII 25)

The peculiarity of the third author lies in his simplifi-

tion of this principle for the practical use of the common man, for whom this idea of selfless action is a confusing abstraction. He associated it with devotional theism, thus combining religion and ethics, and urged people to worship through work, and surrender the consequences to God.

स्वकर्मणा तमभ्यर्च्य सिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः । (XVIII 46)
यत्करोषि यदश्नासि यज्जुहोषि ददासि यत् ।
यत्तपस्यसि कौन्तेय तत् कुरुष्व मदर्पणम् ।। (IX 27)

Thus you will be absolved from sin and the bondage of work—शुभाशुभफलैरेवं मोक्ष्यसे कर्मबन्धनैः ।। (IX 28).

The second author was far-sighted and practical enough to forestall the psychological effects of this principle on the actions of men. They would lose all enthusiasm and fervour for action, which would have a disastrous effect on society. He therefore gave a detailed prescription about an ideal doer and desirable actions, and distinguished them from the inferior and depraved types of work and its agent (XVIII 23–28). Whereas the first author was satisfied with merely necessary physical activity, the second author preferred a man full of courage, will-power and enthusiasm. शारीरं केवलं कर्म कुर्वन्नाप्नोति किल्बिषम् । (IV 21) of the first section is different from धृत्युत्साहसमन्वितः कर्ता सात्त्विक उच्यते । (XVIII 26) of the second author.

In order to ensure the minimum work from men, the third author prescribed the duties of the four classes according to capacity and inclinations. But his descriptions of the ideal persons have a greater bias towards Vairāgya, detachment from life.

Traditions, Sanctions and Authority

The different traditions mentioned by the first and the third authors are significant. The first poet refers to Prajāpati as the source of his teachings—सहयज्ञाः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा पुरोवाच प्रजापतिः । (III 10). The second poet does not refer to any tradition. The third poet refers to Vivasvat-Manu-Ikṣvāku and the King-sages. The reference to Rājarṣis instead of Maharṣis is important. In Ch. X 2 he says, "The Maharṣis do not know my emergence"—न मे विदुः सुरगणाः प्रभवं न महर्षयः । This is probably indicative of the different Vedic and mythological traditions.

Kṛṣṇa with a crown, mace and missile is more of a warrior-king than a Maharṣi.

My impression is that the attitude of the third poet towards the Vedas is different from that of the first two. The first author respects the Vedic authority through his reference to the Yajñas. The second has explicitly acknowledged the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and the Yajñas; ब्राह्मणास्तेन वेदाश्च यज्ञाश्च विहिताः पुरा । (XVII 23). Brahma created the Vedas and other things. The third author considers the Vedas and Yajñas as unimportant and subordinate to theistic devotion. न वेदयज्ञाध्ययनैः (XI 48); नाहं वेदैर्न तपसा (XI 53); वेदैश्च सर्वैरहमेव वेद्यो (XV 15); वेदवादरताः (II 42–46). For the third author they cease to be a source of authority. He Himself, Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, the primeval Universal Being is the creator and interpreter of the Vedas and Vedānta; वेदान्तकृद् वेदविदेव चाहम् । (XV 15).

Evolution of Concepts

The reader comes across various concepts at different stages in the Gītā. I made a list of important concepts and assigned them to the three authors according to the sections and chapters in which they occurred. My finding was that the third stage gives new concepts, absent in the first two, and the second stage mentions those not found in the first stage. There was ample opportunity for all the authors to refer to all the concepts because the topics of all sections are common. The absence of some in the first and second shows either their unimportance for the first two authors, or their non-existence during this period. I have given below the new concepts and their frequency of occurrence in the particular division of the poem.

Concepts appearing during the second stage and their frequency :

अहिंसा (1), दानम् (6), दिव्यम् (2), ध्यानम् (2), प्रिय (2), भक्ति (2), मोक्ष (2), सुखदुःख (3), धर्म (3), ब्रह्मसूत्रपद (1).

Concepts appearing during the third stage and their frequency :

अहिंसा (3), कीर्ति–अकीर्ति (4), अध्यात्मम् (4), अन्तकाल (2), अभ्यास (4), ईश (2), ईश्वर (6), ऐश्वर (2), काम–क्रोध (5),

काम (20), जन (8), तेजस् (5), दान (5), दिव्य (8), द्वन्द्व (5), निर्द्वन्द्व (2), नमस्–कृ (8), नरक (3), स्वर्ग (5), नश्–विनश्–प्रनश् (17), परमात्मा (3), परमेश्वर (2), पर्युपास् (3), प्रसन्न–प्रसाद (5), प्रिय–अप्रिय (17), बलम् (7), भक्त–भक्ति (17), भज् (13), मुनि (6), वासुदेव (4), ज्ञान–विज्ञान (4), विभूति (6), वैराग्य (3), शरण (3), शास्त्र (3), शीतोष्ण–सुखदुःख (3), सुखदुःख (2), शुभाशुभ (3), समाधि (3), सर्वभूत (20), साधु (3) धर्म–अधर्म (20) पापपुण्य (16), वेदान्त (1), विषय (4), पुरुषोत्तम (2), क्षर–अक्षर (3).

Conclusion

The illustrations of diversities in this chapter confirm the plurality of authors and their periods.

X

The Mahābhārata and the Upaniṣads

The Gītā is a part of the Bhīṣma Parvan of the Mahābhārata, but is constructed in such a way that it can also have an independent existence. It is necessary to inquire how far the vicissitudes through which the Mahābhārata passed affected this poem. Some scholars hold that the Gītā has retained its original form; others say it has, like the Mahābhārata, undergone changes. The views on this question have already been summarised in a previous chapter.

Authors of the Mahābhārata

From the various references in the Ādi Parvan of the Mahābharata which I shall hereafter indicate by MB, I can identify at least four writers. Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana Vyāsa is the original. In Ch. 59. 5 Souti writes :

कर्मान्तरेष्वकथयन् द्विजा वेदाश्रयाः कथाः ।
व्यासस्त्वकथयच्चित्रमाख्यानं भारतं महत् ।।

During the intervals *Vyāsa* narrated the great story of the Bhārata. Then in Ch. 60–21 Vyāsa directed *Vaiśampāyana* to narrate to Janamejaya the story which he had learnt from Vyāsa himself :

तस्य तद्वचनं श्रुत्वा कृष्णद्वैपायनस्तदा ।
शशास शिष्यमासीनं वैशम्पायनमन्तिके ।।

Then *Souti* says to Śounaka : " Listen to the stories which I learnt from my father, which he in turn received from Vaiśampāyana and other scholars. "

यदधीतं च पित्रा मे सम्यक् चैव ततो मया ।
तावच्छृणुष्व यो देवैः सेन्द्रैः ..... (5.5)

There must be a *fourth writer* who reports that Souti narrated the MB to Śounaka. The vulgate edition of the MB begins thus :

लोमहर्षणपुत्र उग्रश्रवाः सौतिः पौराणिकोनैमिष्यारण्येशौनकस्य कुलपते-
र्द्वादशवार्षिके सत्रे ।। २ ।। सुखासीनमभ्यगच्छद् ब्रह्मर्षीन् संशितव्रतान् ।

Thus the sequence is that of Vyāśa, Vaiśampāyana, Souti and the reporter of the first three; four in all.

Three Beginnings—Three Stages

The MB refers to three different beginnings :

मन्वादि भारतं केचिदास्तिकादि तथापरे ।
तथोपरिचरादन्ये विप्राः सम्यगधीयते ।। (Ādi. 53)

The great epic has three beginnings with the stories of Manu, Āstika and Uparichara respectively. There are three salutations, two in the beginning of the Ādi Parvan and the third in verses 23 to 25. The three authors are often referred to in the MB. In the final Swargārohaṇa Parvan Souti writes :

एतत्ते सर्वमाख्यातं वैशंपायनकीर्तितम् ।
व्यासाज्ञया समाज्ञातं सर्पसत्रे नृपस्य च ।। (5.35)

The tradition was that Vyāsa narrated the story orally by word of mouth— द्वैपायनोष्ठपुटनिःसृतमप्रमेयम् । (5.67). Vaiśampāyana probably narrated it orally. Souti must have dictated and committed the book to writing. Book writing evolved through the three stages of narration, recitation and writing :

व्याख्यातुं कुशलाः केचिद् ग्रंथान् धारयितुं परे ।
परं न लेखकः कश्चिदेतस्य भुवि विद्यते ।। (I. 54.71)

Scholars are agreed that the authors of the MB are Vyāsa, Vaiśampāyana and Souti, and that it has passed through the

three stages of Jaya, Bhārata and Mahābhārata. The text of the MB confirms this. The purpose of this chapter is to see how far the several stages of the MB and their peculiarities are reflected in the Gītā also; or, in other words, how far the peculiarities of the three divisions of the Gītā shown in the previous chapters of this essay are reflected in the MB in general and in the various Parvans or chapters in particular.

From textual references the tradition has come down that Vyāsa composed the Jaya with 8,800 verses; Vaiśampāyana expanded it into the Bhārata with 24,000; then Souti turned it into the MB with 100,000 verses. There must have been additions in later times also.

Some Similarities

According to the story in the MB, Vyāsa dictated the text to Gaṇeśa, and in order to reduce his speed in writing, introduced certain equivocal and enigmatic verses, which the writer must understand before proceeding further. These were included by Souti in his redaction in such a way that nobody could identify or interpret them (Ādi Parvan I. 82, 83). This is probably Souti's interpreation of the puzzling statements in the original text. The same are found in the Gītā also. The first sextet contains enigmatic statements which confuse Arjuna, who says :

व्यामिश्रेणैव वाक्येन बुद्धिं मोहयसीव मे ।
तदेकं वद निश्चित्य येन श्रेयोऽहमाप्नुयाम् ।। (III 2)

That 'Karma and Akarma are identical', 'Saṁnyāsa and Karma are the same', are really equivocal statements which can be understood, only after very careful intelligent study.

The peculiar features of the style of Souti have been described by C. V. Vaidya, who was well-known as an erudite scholar of the MB. Some of the peculiarities mentioned are the addition of a series of names without heightening the poetic effect; repetitions, inconsistencies, unnecessary portions, prosaic descriptions, ellipsis, etc. All these defects are, however, offset by beautiful poetry. This description is applicable to a large extent to the third stage of the Gītā also.

The Personality of Kṛṣṇa

In the first two stages of the Gītā, Kṛṣṇa is a preceptor and friend of Arjuna, not yet a Divine Being. Kṛṣṇa describes the Divine Being as Brahman and Parama Puruṣa. In the third stage he assumes the role of the Supreme Being, Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, in human form. These stages are also found in the MB.

The Ādi Parvan gives the table of contents of the MB in three places. In the oldest table in Ch. 61, there is no reference to the Gītā. In Ch. I. 181, there is reference to the Divine Universal Vision, Viśva-rūpa-darśana; and in Ch. II. 68 there is reference to the Bhagavad-Gītā, the Song of the Lord. At least two stages of the Gītā are suggested by these references.

Chapters 187 and 234 in Ādi Parvan describe Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa as Nara-Nārāyaṇa sages. Kṛṣṇa is superhuman but not Bhagawān. On the contrary, Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna address Brahmadeva and Agni as Bhagawān and ask for missiles. In Udyoga Parvan, Ch. 68 and 131, Souti has given a detailed description of the Divine incarnation of Kṛṣṇa. Ch. 1–6, 28 and 96 present Kṛṣṇa as a great man. Yudhiṣṭhira says, "O Sanjaya, this Kṛṣṇa is a scholar; he discriminates between action and non-action; besides, he is our beloved friend and foremost among virtuous persons. I shall not dishonour his advice." (Ch. 131) Kṛṣṇa discloses his Divine Universal Form, but the Kauravas are not impressed. The same vision again occurs in Aśvamedhika Parvan, Ch. 55.

Turning to Sabhā Parvan, we find Kṛṣṇa as a wise, intelligent and great man. एवं पुरुषशार्दूलो महाबुद्धिर्जनार्दनः। (24. 53). He is shown as an incarnation in the words addressed by Bhīṣma:

> एष प्रकृतिरव्यक्ता कर्ता चैव सनातनः ।
> परश्च सर्वभूतेभ्यस्तस्मात् पूज्यतमोऽच्युतः ॥ (38.24)
>
> सर्वं कृष्णे प्रतिष्ठितम् । (38.26)

There were persons who challenged the Divine character of Kṛṣṇa. In the Sabhā Parvan Śiśupāla asks :

> यद्ययं जगतः कर्ता यथैनं मूर्ख मन्यसे ।
> कस्मान्न ब्राह्मणं सम्यगात्मानमवगच्छति ॥

" Fool, if you regard him as the creator of the universe, why does he not consider himself as a Brahmin ? "

The above references show at least two stages through which Kṛṣṇa passes in the MB, the human and the Divine. This bears similarity to the two stages of Kṛṣṇa in the Gītā also.

Evolution of the Ahiṁsa Concept

Three stages of Ahiṁsa are seen both in the MB and the Gītā. In the Vana Parvan, animal slaughter and meat-eating are defended in the dialogue between Dharma-Vyādha and the Brahmin. Further on, in Ch. 208, these things are excusable only for religious rites, sacrificial purposes, and entertaining guests. But in the last stage, Ch. 264–265, animal killing and non-vegetarian diet are strongly denounced. In the Karṇa Parvan Kṛṣṇa preached the religion of Ahiṁsa. In the Gītā there is no mention of Ahiṁsa in the first stage; it is a bodily penance in the second stage; and in the third stage it is an essential quality of an ideal person. The three stages of Ahiṁsa are parallel in the Gītā and the MB.

Introduction of New Concepts

The concepts of sin and virtue (Pāpa-Puṇya) and Heaven and Hell (Swarga-Naraka) occur most often in the third stage of the Gītā. This is also true of the later portions of the MB. The reference to idol-worship is in the third stage in the Gītā and the MB. The tradition of Vivasvān-Manu occurs in the Gītā Ch. IV and Ādi Parvan 45.7. The atmosphere of War is revived in the third stage of the Gītā. The later portions of the MB giving detailed and inspiring accounts of battles are later additions. The Virāta Parvan and the dialogues between Vidulā-Sanjaya and Kunti-Yudhiṣṭhira are intentional additions for inspiring a martial spirit. Souti has added to the MB many topics discussing Dharma-Adharma, and at the end of the book, exclaims, धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स धर्मः किं न सेव्यते ।। The references to Dharma, Adharma, Swadharma and Dharma in every form occur in the third stage of the Gītā.

Evolution of the Systems

The stages in the evolution of the Sāṅkhya and Yoga (Pātañjala)

systems are parallel in the MB and the Gītā. The Śanti Parvan shows the primary stage of Sāṅkhya, in which there are the two eternal principles of Prakṛiti and Puruṣa, the plurality of souls and the absence of any Supreme Being (315.11). Then, later on, the individual soul (Jīvātman) is shown as the 25th and the Supreme Being (Paramātman) as the 26th principle, and the identity of the two is shown, similar to the integrated approach of the third author of the Gītā in Ch. XIII and XV. In the MB the Sāṅkhya elements gradually increase from 7 to 17 and then to 24. In the Gītā they are 7 and 24 in the first and second stages. Sāṅkhya is the dominant philosophy both in the MB and the Gītā, during the first two stages :

नास्ति सांख्यसमं ज्ञानं नास्ति योगसमं बलम् ।
तावुभावेकचर्यौ तावुभावनिधनौ स्मृतौ ॥ (S. P. 316.4)

The Gītā also considers Sāṅkhya and Yoga-Abhyāsa as equally effective for salvation.

The development of Yoga (Pātañjala) is parallel in the Gītā and the MB in different stages : introspection through self-control and abstract concentration in the first stage; the science of breath control for attaining higher mental states in the second stage; and contemplation on a deity or personal God instead of abstract and blank concentration, in the third stage. Coming to the ethical problems, we find in the MB and the Gītā identical attitudes towards Karma, Saṁnyāsa and Vairāgya. In both, the first two stages give preference to Karma over Saṁnyāsa and, in the third stage, there is dominance of the Vairāgya concept which approaches Saṁnyāsa in many respects.

Parallelism in the Three Stages

There are some more similarities between the other Parvans of the MB and the Gītā to which I shall only make a brief reference to support my thesis. Ādi Parvan (Ch. 64) prepares the background for the emergence of the incarnation of God as Kṛṣṇa. Vana Parvan (Ch. 154) is similar to the situation in the Gītā; here Arjuna tries to dispel the despondency and renunciatory attitude of Yudhiṣṭhira. The Vidūra-Nīti in the Prajāgara Parvan, Udyoga Parvan (Ch. 34.40) is parallel to the second

stage of the Gītā. Classification and moral application is the peculiarity of both. The detailed descriptions of sacrificial ceremonies probably belong to the second stage when the Mīmāṁsā philosophy prevailed. Śānti Parvan, Ch. 174, where the Vipra gives a sermon to King Sena-jit who had lost his son, is similar to Gītā, Ch. II. In both there is reference to Buddhi-Yoga. The word Buddhi occurring several times indicates common authorship. In the same Parvan, Ch. 195, there is meditation of an abstract type without any deity, as in the first stage of the Gītā.

Śānti Parvan, Ch. 267–270, contains a discourse between Kapil and Syūma-Raśmi, one holding the Sāṅkhya view and the other that of activism, Karma-Yoga. This is similar to the Gītā, Ch. V, where it is shown that Sāṅkhya and Yoga are equally good for salvation, but Karma prepares a man for self-realization and renunciation. The absence of any reference to devotion in both places is significant of the first stage. The description of the Universal Divine Vision and of Kṛṣṇa in human form with a conch, a wheel and a mace (Śaṅkha-Chakra-Gadā) is similar to the third stage in the Gītā, Ch. XI. The concepts of heaven-hell and sin-merit (Swarga-Naraka and Pāpa-Puṇya) resemble the third stage of the Gītā.

Suggested Conclusions

It is possible to go on comparing the three stages of the Gītā and the MB at great length, but I have done this just enough for the purpose of my thesis. It is now an accepted fact that the MB went through three stages at first and later on still more. If there is some comparison between these stages of the MB and those of the Gītā, we may safely conclude that the Gītā is composed by more than one author, at different periods. The peculiarities of the three stages in philosophy, metaphysics and religious practices are common to both. Therefore, it is clear that the Gītā also has passed through three stages.

The Upaniṣads

A close relation between the Gītā and the Upaniṣads is recognised by all scholars. There are many similarities between the phraseology, language, style, concepts and ideology of the Gītā

and those of the Upaniṣads. A number of verses are bodily lifted from the latter and incorporated in appropriate places in the Gītā. The object of my study is to see how far the gradual evolution of ideas and concepts in the Upaniṣads is reflected in the Gītā at different stages of its expansion.

Chronological Sequence

The Upaniṣads are divided into two broad categories, old and new. The old Upaniṣads are divided into five or three categories, according to their chronological sequence. The five categories suggested by R. D. Ranade, the greatest authority on this subject, is as follows :

I. Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Chāndogya
II. Īśa, Kena
III. Aitareya, Taittirīya, Kouśītakī
IV. Kaṭha, Muṇḍaka, Śvetāśvatara
V. Praśna, Maitrī, Māṇḍukya

The Marathi Encyclopaedia of S. V. Ketkar, on the authority of oriental and western scholars, makes a threefold division as follows :

I. As in I, II, III above except Īśa
II. As in IV above plus Īśa and Mahānārāyaṇa
III. As in V above

Deussen, Oldenberg, Winternitz and Farquhar accept the above division with slight changes. About the place of Īśa, there is controversy. Oldenberg places it in the oldest category; Farquhar locates it between Kaṭha and Śvetāśvatara, and Winternitz sandwiches it between Śvetāśvatara and Muṇḍaka. Comparing it with the Gītā I would place it nearer to Kaṭha and prior to Muṇḍaka-Śvetāśvatara, because it has affinity with the first stage of the Gītā. For the purpose of this chapter, in order to facilitate a comparison with the three phases of the Gītā, I would re-arrange the old and new Upaniṣads in the following three groups, which in my opinion synchronise with the three divisions of the Gītā.

1. Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Chāndogya, Kena, Aitareya, Taittirīya, Kouśītakī, Īśa and Kaṭha.
2. Muṇḍaka, Śvetāśvatara, Mahānarāyaṇa, Praśna, Maitrī and Māṇḍukya.
3. The new Upaniṣads like Jābāla, Paramahaṁsa, Śubāla, Garbha, etc.

I have maintained the sequence but changed the chronological periods in the new division. The oldest Upaniṣads, which Winternitz and others consider pre-Buddistic, are in the first category.

Influence on the Gītā

The first category Upaniṣads have influenced the first stage of the Gītā, which does not show any contact with the other later works. The first and second category Upaniṣads show affinity with the second phase of the Gīta which shows no influence of the new Upaniṣads. All three categories of the old and new Upaniṣads show their influence on the third stage of the Gītā.

The chronological sequence and evolution of the Upaniṣads is recognised by scholars. If it can be proved that the three categories of the Upaniṣads are parallel to the three stages of the Gītā, it would vindicate the thesis about the three authors and three periods of the poem. I shall try to show that the influence of the Upaniṣads on the Gītā is pro-current and not anti-current. The first category influences the first and all the other stages; the first and second categories influence the second and third stages, and the three categories influence the third stage. The converse of this is not true. The third category of the Upaniṣads does not influence the second and the first stages of the Gītā; the third and second categories do not influence the first stage. The original author of the Gītā was in touch with the first eight Upaniṣads only, and does not show any influence of the later ones. The second author knew all the old Upaniṣads but was unfamiliar with the new ones; the third author had the advantage of all the old and new Upaniṣads. If three different periods are accepted for the Upaniṣads, the same must hold good about the Gītā also.

The First Period

During the first period of the Upaniṣads, poets, thinkers and

philosophers were confronted with an ideological conflict between the two paths, Yajña or Jñāna, Karmakāṇḍa or Brahmavidyā, Vidyā or Avidyā, Jñāna or Vijñāna, work or renunciation, this world or salvation, material life or spiritual pursuit. This dichotomy has been clearly expressed in the Īśa. "Those devoted to avidyā enter eternal darkness; and those who are entirely absorbed in vidyā enter still deeper darkness. The consequences of vidyā and avidyā are different. Thus we have heard from the masters. Those who worship both vidyā and avidyā overcome death and achieve immortality." (Īśa 9–11). Material and spiritual interests should be reconciled. Both should have a place in life. Do enjoy the fruits of material life, but do it in a spirit of sacrifice and detachment. ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वम् ... । तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः । मा गृधः कस्यस्विद् धनम् ॥ (Īśa 1.1) Also live an active and working life of a hundred years with a selfless spirit. Then no sin will cling to you (1.2). Treat all living beings with love and equality (1.67). The first author of the Gītā expanded this central thought of the Īśa into a superb philosophy of Karma-yoga, which is a perennial contribution to ethical thought.

This was an age of spiritual conflict in India, as evidenced by the Upaniṣads of the period. Īśa, Kena and Taittirīya, are advocates of action, work, sacrificial rites and interest in this world. Kaṭha and Kauśītakī preach a life of spiritual pursuit in quest of Brahma-jñāna. But the mental conflict is apparent in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and Chāndogya; sometimes they uphold the Karma-kāṇḍa and sometimes renunciation of this life for the attainment of Brahma-jñāna. They regard material life as antagonistic to spiritual progress. Out of all this ideological raw material, Buddha and Mahāvira created their philosophies of renunciation and the first Gītā formulated a new synthesis of the Yoga and Karma-yoga; action without a craving for the fruits thereof.

This was a period of reaction against the system of ritualistic sacrifices, Yajñas. Some Upaniṣads defend regular sacrifices; others changed the connotation and content of sacrifices by preaching that moral and spiritual life is a higher type of sacrifice. This idea is reflected in the first Gītā which has liberalised

the concept of Yajña by treating all types of good life as a kind of Yajña leading to self-realization (IV 24–28).

During the period of these Upaniṣads, the concepts of Sāṅkhya, Yoga, cosmology, metaphysics, etc. were in the primary stage, not yet developed into systems. We find the same situation in the first stage of the Gītā.

This discussion will bear out the fact that there is a parallelism of ideas between the first Gītā and the first period Upaniṣads. The ideas in the second and third stages of the Upaniṣads are absent in the first Gītā, because they were not in the atmosphere. But they do occur in the second Gītā, which had the advantage of the first two categories of the Upaniṣads.

The Second Period

The elements in the universe, the systematic philosophy of Sāṅkhya, advanced practices in Yoga (Pātañjala), the path of devotion, and concepts of moral life, these are the topics of the second period Upaniṣads. They were not a prominent feature of either the first period Upaniṣads or the first Gītā. But they occur in the second period Upaniṣads and the second stage Gītā. But concepts in the third period Upaniṣads do not occur in the second or the first stages of the Gītā. The ideological synchronization between the two is significant for this thesis.

Muṇḍaka, Śvetāśvatara, Maitrī, Praśna and Māṇḍukya belong to the second period. Sāṅkhya and Yoga systems are further developed in the Śvetāśvatara. The Prakṛti-Puruṣa concept in the second Gītā, Ch. XIII, is discussed in Maitrāyaṇi, तस्माद् भोक्ता पुरुषो भोज्या प्रकृतिः । तत्स्थो भुङक्त इति । (6.10). The qualities of Rajas and Tamas are given in 3.5 and the same are amplified in the second Gītā, Ch. XIV, XVII, XVIII. An advanced stage of Yoga is described in Śvetāśvatara, which is reflected in the second Gītā, Ch. VIII.

अभ्यासयोगयुक्तेन चेतसा नान्यगामिना । (VIII 8)

भक्त्या युक्तो योगबलेन चैव ।
भ्रुवोर्मध्ये प्राणमावेश्य सम्यक्
स तं परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यम् ।। (VIII 10)

The cursory reference to Bhakti for the Parama-Puruṣa, devotion to the abstract Supreme Being, is a reflection of the same concept in the Śvetāśvatara, 6.23 :

यस्य देवे परा भक्तिः यथा देवे तथा गुरौ ।
तस्यैते कथिता ह्यर्थाः प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः ।।

The Supreme Being is referred to in the second Gītā, VIII 10, as Parama Puruṣa on the lines of the Svetāṣvatara, 3.8 :

वेदाहमेतं पुरुषं महान्तमादित्यवर्णं तमसः परस्तात् ।

The elements in the universe occurring in the second Gītā, Ch. XIII, have some parallel in the Muṇḍaka :

एतस्माज्जायते प्राणो मनः सर्वेन्द्रियाणि च ।
खं वायुर्ज्योतिरापः पृथिवी विश्वस्य धारिणी ।। (2.3)

The advanced concepts of Sāṅkhya and Yoga and the idea of devotion to the abstract Supreme Being are found for the first time in the second stage Gītā and the second category Upaniṣads. The third category Upaniṣad ideas do not occur in the first or the second Gītā, because they were not developed till then. They will follow.

The Third Period

The third stage of the Gītā presents some entirely new concepts, parallel to the third period of the new Upaniṣads, in addition to the ideas that were already developed during the preceding periods. The special features of the third stage Gītā are devotion to a personal God, the concept of a Supreme Being over and above nature and the Soul, emphasis on a moral life, and an attitude of detachment. All these are discussed mainly in the third category of the Upaniṣads. The vague idea of Bhakti of the second stage is fully developed during the third period and a number of Upaniṣads devoted to individual personal Gods, such as Vāsudeva, Viṣṇu, Nārāyana, Rudra, Śiva, etc. were composed. The third Gītā is an Upaniṣad devoted to Vāsudeva

Kṛṣṇa, on the same lines. In all these Upaniṣads and the Gītā the idea that the Deities are the embodiments of the Supreme Being or Brahma is fully accepted.

Some peculiar features are common to all the new Upaniṣads. The style is more graceful, refined and metaphorical; some Deity is the central theme of the composition; there is great stress on moral qualities; the attributes of a perfect man who has attained spiritual bliss are given in great detail; and the theories of Vedānta, Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Bhakti are integrated into a new synthesis. (K. V. Gajendragadkar, *Philosophy of the New Upaniṣads*)

This description of the new Upaniṣads is entirely applicable to the third stage Gītā. Compared with the first two stages, the style of the third stage is more refined and rhetorical. Devotion to Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa is advocated. Moral ideals are emphasised, with a bias towards a detached attitude. Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Bhakti and Karma are all set in the framework of Vedānta philosophy. An entirely new synthesis is given to the world.

The descriptions in detail of ideal, perfect individuals, which the third author of the Gītā included in his own composition and added to the sections of his predecessors, bear a close resemblance, even identity, to the detailed epithets of persons who have attained perfection, the stage of Saṁnyāsa, given in the Jābāla and the Parama-haṁsa Upaniṣads :

> अपरिग्रहः, निर्द्वन्द्वः, निष्परिग्रहः, लाभालाभौ समौ भूत्वा, अप्रयत्नः, निर्ममः, अध्यात्मनिष्ठः, संन्यासेन देहत्यागं करोति ॥ This is from जाबाल. The Paramahaṁsa describes the saṁnyāsin in the following words—
> न शीतं न चोष्णं न सुखं न दुःखं । न मानावमाने च षड्भिर्वर्जम् ॥
> निन्दा–गर्व–मत्सर–दम्भ–दर्पेच्छा—द्वेष–सुखदुःख–काम – क्रोध – लोभ – मोह – हर्षासूयाहंकारादींश्च हित्वा.... ॥
> दुःखे नोद्विग्नः सुखे न स्पृहा त्यागे रागे सर्वत्र शुभाशुभयोरनभिस्नेहो न द्वेष्टि न मोदं च.... ॥ etc.

I have intentionally given these quotations in detail to show their similarity with similar descriptions in the Gītā. The Upaniṣads describe a Saṁnyāsin in words which the Gītā applies to a devotee and a Karmayogin. Naturally some commentators

were therefore persuaded to interpret the Gītā as favourable to Saṁnyāsa.

Conclusion

The Upaniṣads and the Gītā have gone through three parallel stages. The earlier stages of the Upaniṣads have influenced the earlier and later stages of the Gītā, but the later stages have not influenced the earlier compositions. This comparative study testifies to the conclusion that the Gītā has passed through three phases of composition by different authors.

Concordance of Words and Concepts

A study of the words occurring in the various stages of the Upaniṣads and the Gītā has an important and significant bearing. The Upaniṣads disclose a gradual evolution of philosophical and metaphysical concepts and, as and when new concepts are formed, new words and phrases, not used before, come into existence. A study of words, therefore, is not, as some critics believe, merely an external study; it is ancillary to and inevitable for the study of the internal ideology.

Some important studies in the concordance of the Upaniṣads by Indian and Western scholars are useful for this investigation.

G. S. Sadhale has compiled a dictionary of the sentences and phrases from the Upaniṣads, *Upaniṣad-vākya-mahākośah*, in two volumes. With the help of this index I compared the words and phrases occurring in the third part of the Gītā with those occurring in the Upaniṣads, in the three stages. My finding was that most of these words occur in the new Upaniṣads. Such words are, कुलधर्माः, जातिधर्माः, शरणम्, स्थितप्रज्ञ, मुमुक्षु, शास्त्र, निर्द्वन्द्व, ईश्वर, अभ्यास, निर्वाण, जरामरण, वासुदेव, जप, विभूति, पुरुषोत्तम, योगेश्वर, चतुर्भुज, अनिकेत, उदासीन, कूटस्थ, क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञ, विविक्तदेशसेवित्व, निस्त्रैगुण्य, नरक, शास्त्रविधि, etc.

A similar study was made by J. N. Farquhar with the help of the famous work, *Concordance to the Principal Upaniṣads and the Bhagavad-Gītā* by Colonel Jacob. He divides the Upaniṣads into three categories. The first stage of the prose compositions; the second stage of the verse Upaniṣads; and the third stage of the Atharvaṇa Upaniṣads. The third category belongs to the period of the Dharma-śāstras, and the Gītā also belongs to the same

period. His conclusion is based on a comparative study of some significant words in the Gītā and the Upaniṣads. His finding is that these important words occur in the third category of the Atharvaṇa Upaniṣads only, and not in the first two categories. Therefore, the Gītā must also be a composition of the later period. The drawback, in my opinion, of this investigation of Farquhar is that he considers the Gītā to be a unitary composition of one period by one author. He therefore relegates the whole of the poem to the third period. The fact that there are whole sections in the Gītā wherein the new words do not occur has escaped his notice and this has affected his conclusions. This is also the case with most other critics, who, not aware of the threefold chronological division of the Gītā, ascribe it to different periods, from the very early 9th century B. C. to the 2nd century A. D.

The parallelism of words, concepts and thought systems between the three stages of the Upaniṣads and the Gītā leads to the inevitable logical conclusion that, like the Upaniṣads, the Gītā has also passed through three different periods and was composed by three different philosophers.

XI

Darśanas, Mythology and History

THE IMPORTANT systems of Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Vedānta are an integral part of Indian philosophy. Their earlier and later stages are traceable in the Gītā as also in the Upaniṣads. Every system evolves gradually, with accretions of concepts during consecutive periods. In the final stage, some outstanding scholar of genius collects all similar thought currents and integrates them into a coherent consistent system of philosophy or a particular school of thought. The Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Vedānta systems have also passed through such an evolution. Their stages of growth are discovered in the Gītā, in three different phases.

The First Stage

The original author of the Gītā discusses Sāṅkhya and Yoga; the path of Yoga does not bear a specific name during this period. The two systems are in their primary stage. The word Sāṅkhya, many critics believe, does not have the significance of the later systematic Sāṅkhya; they call it Vedānta Sāṅkhya. But the major concepts of Sāṅkhya were formed and dominated the minds of philosophers. The immortality of soul, dualism of body and soul, the function of Prakṛti and qualities, the role of knowledge, and the way of Saṁnyāsa, formed the pillars of Sāṅkhya. The word Puruṣa and the evolutes of Prakṛti are not mentioned. The ideal appears to be the realisation of Brahman. From the viewpoint of terminology and concepts Sāṅkhya is in the first stage of development.

The word Yoga is used by the original author for his new philosophy based on Karman. The ultimate ideal is identity with or approach to Brahman, through Yogic concentration on the self.

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Contemplation, introspection and self-control are mentioned but the words abhyāsa, dhyāna and yoga in their Pātañjala sense are not used at this stage.

The first division of the Gītā shows Yoga (Pātañjala) and Vedānta in the stage of formation, and Sāṅkhya in a comparatively developed state. The Karma-Yoga is an entirely new creation, with a metaphysical base which is common to all the above schools. In fact, except for Sāṅkhya and Yoga the different ideologies did not exist as systems. "I have told you before about two types of faith—Jṅānayoga of Sāṅkhyas and Karmayoga of Yogins."

लोकेऽस्मिन् द्विविधा निष्ठा पुरा प्रोक्ता मयानघ ।
ज्ञानयोगेन सांख्यानां कर्मयोगेण योगिनाम् ।। (III 3)

The Second Stage

The second stage of the Gītā is found in the original portions of Chapters VIII, XIII, XIV, XVII and XVIII. The systems had made further progress during this period. The Sāṅkhya was probably perfected. Prakṛti and Puruṣa are eternal entities (XIII 19). The three qualities of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas are fully developed in theory and application (Ch. XIV, XVII, XVIII). The twenty-four elements, the five factors in action etc. show that Sāṅkhya-Kṛtānta was developed as a complete system. It was self-sufficient for salvation, on the same level as Dhyāna-Yoga and Karma-Yoga.

ध्यानेनात्मनि पश्यन्ति केचिदात्मानमात्मना ।
अन्ये सांख्येन योगेन कर्मयोगेण चापरे ।। (XIII 24)

The verse quoted above also indicates that Dhyāna-yoga was further developed into a system for self-realization. The techniques of controlling the vital breath-process, so as to bring about the cessation of life at will at a particular time, were perfected. The term Abhyāsa appears to be specifically applied to this Yoga (VIII 8). It was left for Patañjalī in a later period to integrate all these things into a complete system. The ultimate objective for Sāṅkhya in the Gītā is Parama Puruṣa as well as Brahman.

But the non-theistic concept of salvation only through knowledge is also mentioned (XIII 23, 34).

The first and second stages of the Gītā are based on Vedāntic monism, identity of the individual soul and the universal spirit, implicitly in the first stage and explicitly in the second stage (Ch. VI 27 and XVIII 20). The whole of life and the universe as the concept of Brahman is suggested in Ch. IV 24 : ब्रह्मार्पणं...ब्रह्मैव तेन गन्तव्यम्... etc.

The Third Stage

It was left for the third author to integrate into a devotional theistic philosophy the loose ends of all the four streams of thought in the first two Gītās : Karma, Sāṅkhya, Dhyāna (Pātañjala) Vedānta and Bhakti. He retained the original text and inserted a few verses in between the old paragraphs, added new paragraphs to the old compositions, and composed entirely new chapters, to give a unified philosophy through the Gītā. Karma-yoga is reinforced by the spirit of devotional dedication of all work to the service of God, Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa. The dualism and implicit non-theism of the Sāṇkhya is given a Vedāntic form by identifying Prakṛti, Puruṣa and the Guṇas with the Highest Universal Being. For Dhyāna-yoga and abhyāsa, the objective of meditation on Me, Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa is recommended. The abstractness of Vedānta is retained and tolerated for the intellectual and philosophical elite, but for the common people, theism with a very powerful element of Bhakti to Kṛṣṇa is very systematically and eloquently advocated (XII 1–7).

It is probable that during this period Sāṅkhya was developing on atheistic or non-theistic lines. Therefore, to avoid any atheistic interpretation of the Sāṅkhya verses in the Gītā, positively theistic statements were inserted, retaining the preceding and following lines as they were (XIII 22, 31. XIV 3, 4).

Dhyāna or Abhyāsa Yoga (Pātañjala) was further developed during this period. The supplementary paragraph at the end of Ch. VI is intended to bring the philosophy of this Yoga up-to-date, by adding the concepts of Abhyāsa, Vairāgya, and rebirth of unsuccessful yogins. In addition to the abstract concentration of the first author, and contemplation on the Parama Puruṣa of the second philosopher, the third author has recommended

meditation on Me, a concrete deity in the human form, throughout life and especially while departing from this world (VI 14, VIII 13).

Vedānta philosophy was fully developed during this period, establishing the unity of the Universal Being, the individual souls and the material world. To modify the whole Gītā on this fundamental principle was the mission of the third author. He wove into a unified pattern the ideological threads of Karma, Sāṅkhya, Dhyāna, Bhakti and Vedānta. Only a very careful minute scrutiny discloses the evolutionary phases of the different systems.

Diversities in View-points

A comparison of the view-points of the three authors of the Gītā in terms of the then existing Darśanic philosophies discloses certain minute and subtle but important differences in their points of view. My object is to examine these to see how far the idea of multiple-authorship is justified.

The Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā in its perfected form came into existence after the Gītā, but the ideological material was in the air. The necessity of Karma-kāṇḍa, the authority of the Vedas and opposition to Saṁnyāsa are important ideas of the Mīmāṁsā. The three philosophers of the Gītā hold different views on each of the above points. The first author interprets Yajña liberally to include the regular ritualistic Yajña as well as the metaphorical Yajñas of Tapas, Yoga and Jñāna, (IV 28); the second author makes Yajña obligatory, with all the rules and forms prescribed for the same, (XVII 11–13); the third author considers these absolutely unimportant and subordinate to devotion, (XI 48, 53; IX 20, 21). The first two authors recognise the authority and tradition of the Vedas; the third is critical about the followers of the Vedas (II 42). Of the three Vedas, Sāman is important, especially the Bṛhat-Sāman, and not the first two (X 22, 35). Small things, but significant and meaningful. As to Saṁnyāsa, the first tolerates it but prefers Karma; the second discards it, and the third substitutes life-long Vairāgya in its place. I think the three authors indicate their individuality from the Mīmāṁsa point of view.

Sāṅkhya is definitely treated in three different ways by these

three philosophers. The first author has written his thesis solely for the purpose of refuting the Sāṅkhya doctrine existing in and dominating his age. With a master-stroke of logical acumen, unparalleled in ancient literature, he apparently accepts the doctrines of Sāṅkhya, but shows that their conclusion is entirely opposed to that of Saṁnyāsa (Ch. III, IV, V, VI).

The second author has objectively and faithfully reproduced the Sāṅkhya position and recognised it as a way of salvation, although personally he is a follower of Vedānta and Mīmāṁsā. He does not seriously attempt to refute or modify Sāṅkhya views on the dualism between the Puruṣa and Prakṛti. He has described the Sāṅkhya doctrines of qualities (Guṇas) in great detail and seems to accept the authority of Sāṅkhya Kṛtānta and Guṇa-Saṅkhyāna (Ch. XVIII 13, 19).

The third author does not, like the first two authors, refer openly to Sāṅkhya anywhere, does not indicate either his agreement or difference, but silently modifies the whole ideology and sets it in the framework of devotional theistic philosophy. The retention of the original Sāṅkhya verses is the cause of confusion among commentators, who interpret the Gītā in a variety of ways, and find textual justification for their different points of view.

Metaphysics and Cosmology

A student of the Gita finds its metaphysics confusing and perplexing because the three authors have expressed their points of view in different places. The reader is confused first by the repetition and secondly by the diversity of views. The easiest way to interpret the work is to apportion the topics and viewpoints to the different authors, and then see if reconciliation or unification is possible.

The elements in the universe are mentioned as eight by the third author (VII 4,) and as twenty-four by the second (XIII 5). Descriptions of cosmic creation by two authors occur in two consecutive chapters—VIII and IX. The Sāṅkhya dualism of Prakṛti and Puruṣa as two eternal factors is retained, with the intermingling verses expressing monism (XIII 19, 22, 31).

Vedāntic concepts are also expressed by different authors in different ways. They all agree on the identity of the Soul, the Highest Soul and the Material world, but the realization of the

Highest Soul is achieved in a variety of ways. The first recommends introspection of the self itself (VI 18, 25). The second suggests devotional meditation over the Parama Puruṣa of inconceivable form and solar refulgence (VIII 8–10). The third accepts in theory the path of contemplating the Supreme Being, eternal, omnipresent, and indescribable (IX 3) but, as a practical measure, advocates worship of a concrete deity with faith, devotion and dedication. The reading of the Gītā in the context of three different periods simplifies interpretation.

The Darśanas in their later perfect form were not available in the age of the Gītā, but their concepts and doctrines were in the air, available for use by the three authors in appropriate contexts in their compositions.

Mythology

The Purāṇas, mythological works, were composed in their systematic literary forms during a later period, but raw material for them must have existed among the people in the form of oral literature. The wisdom of the race was handed down from generation to generation in the form of stories, anecdotes, prayers, chronologies, sermons, ballads, songs, recitations, etc. All this is supposed to have existed during the period of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads. Later on it was systematically collected, rearranged, amplified and unified into mythologies. Anecdotes, traditional stories and oral impressions about the Mahābhārata and the Gītā were probably handed down from generation to generation, long after they were composed and finalised.

The Bhāgavata

The Bhāgavata is an important and authoritative text-book of the Bhāgavata Dharma based on devotion to Bhagawān Kṛṣṇa. In the Eleventh Part of the book, there is a sermon by Kṛṣṇa to Uddhava, more or less on the lines of the Gītā. The titles of some chapters are identical, and there is close similarity in ideas, doctrines, verses and diction. This message is said to be handed down by Veda Vyāsa to Śuka, by Śuka to Parikṣita, and by Sūta to Sounaka. The poem starts with an account of how Vyāsa was inspired to compose it. He first composed the Gītā, with the central theme of action-less-ness (Naiṣkarmya), but this

was not enough to give him spiritual solace. Without devotion to Kṛṣṇa there is no peace of mind, therefore he composed the Bhāgavata, with both devotion and action as the central themes. This anecdote was probably handed down from old times and incorporated in the Bhāgavata. It clearly suggests that the original Gītā was meant to advocate Karma, and contained no reference to Bhakti. This leads to the conclusion that sections dealing with devotion to a personal God were introduced into the Gītā at some later date.

The Gaṇeśa-Purāṇa

In the Gaṇeśa-Purāṇa is incorporated the Gaṇeśa-Gītā which bears a very close similarity to the Bhagavad-Gītā. The titles and topics of some chapters are identical. It is a sort of paraphrase of the Gītā in easier and more intelligible Saṁskṛt. The interlocutors are Srī Gaṇeśa and Vareṇya instead of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna. The two Gītās are similar to each other in all respects except the number of chapters; the Gaṇeśa-Gītā has eleven instead of eighteen. This fact is significant and suggests that the tradition of an eleven-chapter Gītā must have been prevalent at some stage, on the lines of which the Gaṇeśa-Gītā was composed. In the earlier stages of the Gītā Chapters III and IV may have formed one unit or Chapter XV may not have been a part of the Gītā.

Other Gītās

On the analogy of the Bhagavad-Gītā in the Mahābhārata, many other Purāṇas incorporated some Gītā devoted to a particular deity in their text. Thus many other Gītās came into existence, as Śiva-Gītā in Padma Purāṇa, Devī Gītā in Devī Bhāgavata, Yama Gītā in Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Brahma Gītā in Skanda Purāṇa and Brahma Gītā in Yoga Vāsiṣṭha. The number of chapters in these poems is suggestive; one, eight, nine, eleven, twelve and sixteen. In all other respects such as style, diction, quotations from the Upaniṣads, guidance in Yoga-Sādhanā and traditions going back up to Vyāsa, they resemble the Gītā. If the imitation is in respect of the number of chapters, it is possible that the Gītā passed through stages of having different numbers of total chapters. This evidence is only suggestive, not decisive.

Ancient History

During the last fifty years, research on the various aspects of the ancient history of India has enriched our knowledge about the facts, thought currents, social conditions, religious ideas, philosophy and literary activities during this period. This is helpful to some extent in determining the problems about the dates and authorship of the Mahābhārata and the Gītā. Three periods in India's ancient history are somewhat parallel to the three stages of the Gītā. The first period is from about 900 B. C. to 600 B. C., the second from 600 B. C. to 300 B. C.; and the third from 300 B. C. to 200 B. C. The religious, philosophical and literary developments during these periods show some relation to the teachings in the corresponding stages of the Gītā.

The First Period

The first period covers a few centuries before 600 B. C. The earlier Upaniṣads give us some idea about the ideological problems and conflicts during this period. People were losing their faith in sacrificial rituals as means of salvation, and they were looking elsewhere for other ways. The concepts of the soul and Brahman began to dominate the thinking of leaders. The idea prevailed that spiritual perfection could be achieved by renouncing this worldly life. The idea was carried to extremes by some people who advocated the principle of non-action as necessary for salvation. This idea took different philosophical and doctrinal forms such as saṁnyāsa, jñāna, akarma, naiṣkarmya, etc. At the other extreme there were advocates of atheism, hedonism and materialism. This was a period of ideological transition. Old beliefs were being analysed and new formulas were being suggested. The common man was confused intellectually and spiritually. A new synthesis was needed. Out of this atmosphere of spiritual anarchy were born the doctrines and creeds of the Buddha and Mahāvīra. They were dominated by the ideas of renunciation and monasticism. There was a need to re-orient the ideas of the people towards active life; domestic, social and political. This task was accomplished by the first Gītā. The main conflicts and problems of this age were those of renunciation or worldly life; retirement or activity; a negative

philosophy or a positive one. They are clearly reflected in the first phase of the Gītā.

It is generally accepted that the Brāhmaṇa literature, describing the ritualistic forms, procedures and principles of the Yajñas, was composed somewhere between 1200 B. C. and 600 B. C. The Āraṇyakas and the oldest Upaniṣads form an integral part of the Brāhmaṇa literature. The oldest Upaniṣads like the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Chāndogya, Kaṭha, Īśa etc. were composed before or about 600 B. C. This period is parallel to the first stage of the Gītā. During this period the performance of Yajñas and the study of the Vedas were obligatory on the two classes, Brahmin and Kṣtriya. Religious practice consisted mainly of the performance of sacrificial rites. Householders had to maintain the sacrificial fires, Agnihotra, in the household and perform the daily and periodical sacrifices, and occasionally the special sacrifices for the fulfilment of personal desires and ambitions. The institution of sacrifice dominated the domestic and social life of the people. The theoretical reaction against it first appeared through the Upaniṣads and the practical reaction exhibited itself through the creeds of Saṁnyāsa and the various orders of monks and ascetics. In the Vedic religion, Saṁnyāsa was allowed only to the upper classes . Therefore the common people resorted to non-Vedic creeds and sects which gave them the privilege of Saṁnyāsa, regarded as the key for salvation. Sāṁkhya and Yoga creeds were open to all people. Literature on Buddhism refers to the contemporary religious conditions. It mentions about sixty-three different sects of non-Vedic origin. The highest aspiration was salvation, for which Saṁnyāsa was essential. Therefore, non-Vedic creeds and orders offering facilities for renunciation achieved popularity. The first Gītā came into existence to convince people that salvation was also possible through Karma, active domestic, social and political life, provided it is done with the spirit of Saṁnyāsa. The Buddha lived from 567 B. C. to 487 B. C. and Mahāvīra from 540 B. C. to 467 B. C. This is probably the approximate period when the author of the first Gīta preached his new philosophy. The ideological atmosphere was common to all three philosophers; the dominance of the Yajña tradition on the one hand and the influence of the Saṁnyāsa ideal on the other. All three retained

a common ethical and moral base but showed different paths to the people. Self-control, mental discipline, concentration, introspection, penance, celibacy, purity of life, simplicity and other moral qualities were the common heritage of all the three philosophers. They were a part of the atmosphere.

The Second Period

The second period of ancient history covers about three centuries, from 600 B. C. to 300 B. C. During this span, the ideological raw materials for the formation of the various philosophical systems, the Darśanas, were taking shape, preparatory to their integration into full systems. The topics that were conceived and discussed were : The origin of man and the universe, the nature of matter, the relation of the body and the soul, the soul and the over-soul, the Supreme Being, the nature of death, life after death, the diversity in man and nature, control of the life processes, control of the mind and thought processes, etc. Some of these topics and concepts are reflected in the second stage of the Gītā, i. e., Chapters, VIII, XIII, XIV, XVII and XVIII.

The interval between the compositions of the first and the second Gītā may be about a century. The second author composed his work probably some time between 600 B. C. and 500 B. C., the beginning of the second period of ancient history. The concepts of the Darśanas were in a scattered, unsystematic and unorganized form. All the old Upaniṣads were available for study. Sāṅkhya and Yoga (Pātañjala) were nearing completion. Owing to the strong reaction and revolt against sacrifices involving undesirable practices like animal slaughter, reformed types of sacrifices with offerings of food were coming into vogue. They formed a part of domestic religion. Family life and society were assuming a more wholesome and cultured form under the moral and religious influence of Gṛhyasūtras and the Dharmasūtras.

The Vedic religious practices were still confined to the upper classes. The common people started creating their own Gods and forms of worship, outside the Vedic pattern.

यजन्ते सात्त्विका देवान् यक्षरक्षांसि राजसाः ।
प्रेतान् भूतगणांश्चान्ये यजन्ते तामसा जनाः ।। (XVII 4)

Besides, a large number of gods and other objects of worship were becoming popular, even evil spirits, demons, ancestors, ghosts, etc. These practices did not have any sublime philosophical concepts behind them. The classes were making cultural progress but the common people were impoverished and starved from the religious and spiritual point of view. They began to resort to Buddhism and Jainism, which were open to all irrespective of their social status. These sects received royal patronage, which increased their popularity among the classes and masses. The Magadha emperor Bimbisāra (547 B. C.– 495 B. C.) and Ajātaśatru (495 B. C.– 463 B. C.) of Śiśunāga dynasty gave royal recognition to both Jainism and Buddhism, and helped their expansion and popularity in the empire. The earlier part of this second period is parallel to the second phase of the Gītā.

The Third Period

This period covers about a century between 300 B. C. to 200 B. C. approximately. The rise and popularity of the Bhakti path is the greatest landmark of this era. The Vedic religious movements that preceded this period neglected the masses. The abstract philosophical concepts were beyond their understanding. The immortality of the Soul, the Para-Brahman, meditation on the abstract Divine principle, control of the vital breath and physical processes, and such other ideas and practices were not practicable for the common people. The practice of devotion was simple, easily conceivable and practicable for them. Religious sects which worshipped and offered devotion to Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva and others were becoming popular. The Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism had developed worship of idols of Buddha, and accepted the principle of devotion. All these historical tendencies are reflected in the third stage of the Gītā. The idea of devotion to a personal God, Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, is the central theme of the third author of the Gītā, which has been entirely revised by him around the new idea.

From the sociological point of view, this was an age when the traditions of religion, caste and family had taken deep root and assumed importance. The Dharma-Śāstras, the social and religious codes, were drafted. The references in the Gītā to

Kuladharmas and Jāti-dharmas in Ch. I and to the Śāstra in Ch. XVI and XVII are indicative of the third period of history.

This was an age of religious and moral transition. The traditional religion of Yajñas became subordinate to moral and ethical values. Religious orders and creeds based on renunciation and monasticism were becoming popular. It was necessary to preach a religion of action, with some scope for sentiments of renunciation which were then in the air. The caste system was strengthened. Religious sects based on devotion began to multiply. Gods like Śiva, Viṣṇu, Skanda were made objects of worship. Temples and idols came into vogue. The Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism became popular because it adopted certain new practices and principles, like the concept of incarnation, worship of Buddha idols, the ideas of devotion and redemption through Divine grace, and the use Saṁskṛt for religious purposes. A number of other sects on these lines existed at this time. Some of the deities worshipped by them were Vāsudeva, Baladeva and Pūrṇabhadra. It was during this period that the Mahābhārata was redacted with the inclusion of Bhāgavata Dharma in it. The worship of Vāsudeva was practised in the dynasties of the Sātvatas and the Vṛṣṇīs; the main feature of this worship being devotion to God. This Vāsudeva was identical or was identified with the Kṛṣṇa of the Mahābhārata and the Gītā, and thus the religion of devotion to a personal God was introduced. Some scholars are of the opinion that Vāsudeva or Kṛṣṇa was the founder of the path of devotional theism. Thus the Vedic religion was reformed by the inclusion in it of devotion, idol worship and a consistent philosophy of devotional theism.

Value of Historical Evidence

From the foregoing discussion it should be clear that history in general, and the history of literature and religion in particular, support the theory of transitions in the Gītā. There are certain ideas, practices and changes during the three different periods of ancient history. They bear close affinity to some of the ideas and teachings in the different stages of the Gītā. A sort of parallel ideological evolution and transition is seen both in ancient history and in the Gītā.

Conclusion

An intensive study of the text of the Gītā, through analyses and classifications in a number of ways, has disclosed the probability that the poem was written by three different authors, during three different periods. This hypothesis was supported by the external evidence from the Mahābhārata, the Upaniṣads, the Darśanas, the Puraṇas and ancient history of religion and literature. Thus all possible sources of information and evidence likely to throw any light on the problem of the authorship and date of the Gītā have been used for the justification of this thesis. If critics ask for more evidence, my only reply is, it does not exist.

Poets, philosophers, great persons and men of genius have far-reaching visions. But there are always limitations of time and place. Howsoever gifted a person may be, he can peep beyond his time and place only up to a certain limit. Therefore, he has to write primarily for his own generation, for an audience and a situation that exists around him. The problems belonging to the time and place of the author are reflected in his writing. Literature, therefore, can give us some idea about the conditions under which it was produced.

Every writer of the Gītā thought and wrote primarily to guide the people around him in the solution of their problems. Human life is dynamic and the problems of society change from age to age. In order, therefore, to bring the poem abreast of their times in the way of ethical and religious guidance, the later authors of the Gītā had to expand and modify the text, so that it would be more useful to their own generations. The first stage Gītā was inadequate for the generation that came after a century, so the second author had to expand it. In course of about three centuries, the second stage Gītā could not satisfy the needs of the people; therefore, still more additions and modifications were made by the third author. Thus the Gītā has not remained static. It is dynamic; it has moved with the times before it was finalised as eternal literature for the guidance of humanity It is indeed a sign of the intellectual vitality of the people that they could produce great men who kept the Gītā in

a dynamic, progressive condition. Readers also must be progressive enough to interpret the poem from this point of view. It would be a sign of their intellectual freshness and open-mindedness.

XII

Criteria of Interpolation

On the strength of an intensive textual investigation and the support of external evidence, I have come to the conclusion that the Gītā has passed through three stages, at the hands of three authors, during three different periods. The original Gītā was based on the dialogue that ensued on the battlefield between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, long after the incident actually took place. He composed six chapters, which form a little less than half the portion of the six chapters in the vulgate. About a century later the second author added six more chapters, and expanded the poem to twice its original size. These additional six chapters in the second stage contained about half the number of verses from Chapters VIII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVII and XVIII of the present Gītā. About three centuries later the third author entirely redacted the whole poem, adding a number of verses to the old chapters, interposing them in the central body of the poem, and changing the arrangement and sequence of the previous chapters. Since this third poet was the last to re-edit the tract, his chapters have remained unmixed and un-interpolated. All these chapters from the vulgate, i. e. VII, IX, X, XI, XII and XVI, therefore, belong to the third author. The problem for investigation now is the location of the interpolations by the third author in the residual twelve chapters, the isolation of the original Gītā and the portions added by the second author.

The word interpolations in the context of the Gītā has no objectionable significance. It is used in the sense of additions, expansion and modifications, with a pure and sublime motive of making the text up-to-date and more useful.

Criteria for Identifying Interpolations

On the basis of my previous investigations, the following

principles emerge as criteria for locating interpolations by the third author, in the twelve chapters of the first and second stage Gītā :

1. Verses and related paragraphs suggesting 'I am God', or where Kṛṣṇa himself is identified with the Divine principle in the concrete or abstract.
2. The use of a vocabulary peculiar to the third author and third stage only; e. g., गुह्य, दिव्य, दैवी–आसुरी, ज्ञान–विज्ञान, पुरुषोत्तम, वासुदेव, अधियज्ञ, महेश्वर, अनसूयवे, लोकसंग्रह, संकर, वैराग्य, नरक, पाप–पुण्य, मुमुक्षु, etc.
3. The addition of topics which are repeatedly emphasised by the third author; e. g., denunciation of Kāma and Krodha (passion and anger); descriptions of perfect and ideal persons with a string of epithets; verses glorifying Vairāgya (detachment) and Bhakti (devotion to Kṛṣṇa), etc.
4. Concepts, doctrines, terminology, diction and style peculiar to the third period.
5. Verses intended to give a Vedāntic or devotional turn to Sāṅkhya philosophy.
6. Verses suggestive of the incarnation of God in the form of Kṛṣṇa.
7. Verses and paragraphs advocating the worship of a personal God or Kṛṣṇa.
8. Verses indicating the advanced stages of Yoga-Śāstra (Pātañjala).
9. Emphasis on social aspects, moral qualities and observance of Dharma.
10. Associating devotional theism with all other forms of worship and religious practices.
11. Consciousness of the battle-field atmosphere and the dialogue form of the Gītā.
12. A large number of grammatical deviations.

The above criteria are based on the peculiar features and characteristics of the six chapters which definitely belong to the third stage.

Criteria for the Identification of the Second Phase

1. Emphasis on the Mīmāṁsā approach to the Vedas and Yajñas.
2. Detailed exposition of Sāṅkhya concepts.
3. Parallel presentation of different contemporary theories and philosophies.
4. Concepts indicative of the intermediate stage of Sāṅkhya, Yoga (Pātañjala), Vedānta and Bhakti.
5. Objectivity and personal aloofness in the presentation of views and discussion.
6. Tendency towards detailed analysis and classification.
7. Indifference to the battle-field atmosphere and the dialogue form of the poem.
8. Sparing use of the imperative mood and the vocative case.
9. Accuracy with regard to grammatical forms.
10. Simplicity and directness in style and diction.

By the application of the above criteria, and through a consideration of the tract as a whole, with regard to the central theme and construction, it is possible to isolate the composition of the second author from the residual twelve chapters, left over after isolating the six chapters of the third author. It was comparatively easier to identify the verses, paragraphs and chapters of the third composer, owing to his outstanding peculiarities and distinctness in philosophy. But the identification of the second author proved to be a difficult task. The first problem was whether he had made any additions to and modifications in the original Gītā, or had only added whole chapters of his own, or had done both these things. After a careful study of the arrangement of the original Gita, as isolated after eliminating the portions of the third author, I came to the conclusion that the residual tract had a complete unity of theme and arrangement of its own. The main objective was the refutation of Sāṅkhya, and the creation and defence of Yoga and Karma-Yoga. This theme progresses from the second chapter to the end of the sixth, without any digression or repetition. A similar criterion can be applied to the other six chapters, supposed to belong to the second author. They have a theme and a plan of arrangement of their own. They attempt to present the

contemporary schools of thought, without any attempt at their integration and reconciliation, and with a tolerant recognition of their roles in leading to salvation. In addition, this second author amplifies the Sāṅkhya philosophy and shows its application to everyday life. The first author very politely refutes Sāṅkhya philosophy while the second presents it objectively. These criteria for the isolation of the second stage Gītā are partly objective and partly subjective. But in the ultimate division, the peculiarities of each author are clearly represented in the particular composition assigned to him.

Corroboration of the Divisions

The application of various criteria has resulted in the emergence of the three stages of the Gītā. A detailed distribution of the actual verses and chapters assigned to each author has been shown in a separate table. In order to ascertain whether the three divisions of the Gītā are reasonably correct, it is possible to apply to them the following tests in a general way :

1. Each division should have an internal coherence and consistency, and a unity of plan and arrangement.
2. Each division should have a beginning and a conclusion. But this may not be possible in the case of the second author, whose concluding portions might have been eliminated.
3. Each chapter, as it stands after the elimination of interpolations, must have a unity of theme and design.

The number of verses in the isolated chapters of the first and the second Gītā appears to be very small, and readers of the poem may doubt the reliability of an investigation which makes the chapters so short. The smallest number of verses in a chapter is 5, the highest is 40, and the average about 20. In the Mahābhārata there are a number of chapters with a smaller number of verses upto about 20 or 25 and the shortest chapters have 5 or 7 only. Some such instances are given below :

Udyoga-Parvan :	10, 15, 17, 16, 17, 16, 10, 7, 12
Virāṭa-Parvan :	8, 12, 4

Bhīṣma-Parvan :	13, 7
Śānti-Parvan :	11, 9, 16, 13, 20, 18, 6, 9, 10
Aśvamedhika-Parvan :	13, 12, 8, 5

There should, therefore, be no objection if the elimination of interpolations results in shorter chapters with a small number of verses, as compared with the chapters in the vulgate.

The tests of the unity of theme and design in the original chapters and divisions would hold good only if the last author has not omitted any verses. In order to achieve an apparent unity of plan in the final revision, it is possible that some concluding verses from the second division were cut out. But there is no direct evidence for such an inference. The nature of the three divisions in the light of the tests of originality enunciated above, is as set out below.

The Original Gītā : There are 14 to 28 verses in each chapter. Each chapter has a unity of subject-matter and the whole division has a unity of design and theme. There is coherence and continuity in the discourse, with a central theme driving at a definite conclusion. The original Gītā with the six chapters is thus a small compact complete thesis.

The Second Division : All the six chapters of the second division satisfy most of the accepted tests. Every chapter has a central theme and purpose in the design. It cannot be an independent book with a beginning and an end because it is based on a previous poem with a beginning and it is followed by the concluding verses of the third poet. Ch. XV with only five verses is very short. It is probably a small Upaniṣad quoted from some old source. The sentence in the fourth verse, "I surrender to that Primeval Being", does not suit the lips of Kṛṣṇa of the third author. Probably the next few verses are dropped.

The Third Division : The third author has inserted his verses and paragraphs in the divisions of the first two authors. For that portion the question of unity does not arise. The question would be how far they retained or disturbed the unity of the

original chapters. The answer is that in a number of chapters the original plan and purpose has been changed. The incoherence, contradictions, inconsistencies, deviations and repetitions are a result of the interpolations of the third editor. But in his own entirely new and whole chapters, i. e., VII, IX, X, XI, XII and XVI, there is a unity of plan and design. They have remained unmixed and un-interpolated.

The unity of design and purpose of the original Gītā was affected by the addition of the second division, but it did not present interpretational difficulties. But the redaction by the third author definitely and largely disturbed the unity of the original and also the second stage poem, and gave the Gītā the appearance of looseness, a poem without a unitary design and purpose. If the Gītā is read in the sequence in which it was composed by the three authors, its interpretation would be greatly simplified. The purpose of this essay is to present these three divisions in order to facilitate their understanding for the common reader.

XIII

Interpolations—Purpose and Effect

The purpose of this chapter is to determine the actual verses and paragraphs interpolated in the first and second divisions by the third author, the possible reason and purpose of such interpolations, and their effect on the chapters modified by them. It was comparatively easy to discuss the question of interpolations in a general way, but the question of locating and defining the changes is fraught with a number of difficulties and uncertainties. It would not be very scientific to say positively that a particular portion is a definite interpolation. The original tract was drafted about 2,600 years ago; it was then revised and enlarged twice by two authors; the last author recast the whole poem and took the utmost care to give the revised version a unity of purpose and design. The identification of interpolations, therefore, is not an easy task. However, I am placing my findings, as probable interpolations, for the consideration and final scrutiny of learned scholars of this subject. As for the verses with the first person singular, I am positive. With regard to the other verses I have given my reasons in the light of the criteria that I framed for this purpose.

Chapter I

Description of the Armies : 1 to 19

A similar description has been given in the previous chapters of the Bhīṣma-Parvan. Some words and phrases are similar to those in this paragraph. The third author probably inserted this portion to make the Gītā a self-sufficient complete unit.

Consequences of Family-annihilation : 38–44

Terms and concepts like कुलधर्म, जातिधर्म, वर्णसंकर, नरक, उत्सन्न, etc. belong to the third period. This question of Arjuna has remained unanswered.

Chapter II

Opening Dialogue : 1–9

The anxiety of Arjuna is expressed in these verses. In the first chapter he only refers to the slaughter of relatives and the annihilation of families. In this paragraph he gives some more reasons for his anxiety : the slaughter of preceptors, uncertainty about success, confusion about right and wrong, the possibility of grief even after success, etc. These additional questions are inserted by the third author and the replies to them also occur in his own interpolations in Ch. II 31–38 and Ch. XI 32–34. These questions give an opportunity to the third author to emphasise, in his replies, the duties of the warrior class and to revive the atmosphere of the battle. The interpolation is relevant but out of place in this chapter. Indian commentators therefore disregard this paragraph and start their explanations from verse 11.

Sense-experiences and the Eternal : 14–17

The main topic under discussion is the nature of the body and the soul which opens in 13 and is continued from 18 onwards. This is a digression for two purposes : to emphasise the pleasure-pain aspect of the organs, and to add the concept of the Higher Soul to the Sāṅkhya doctrine of the nature of the soul.

Duties of the Warrior Class : 31–38

Verse 30 ends with a description of the eternity of the Soul according to the Sāṅkhya and verse 39 begins with the statement, 'This is the Sāṅkhya way of thinking'. The interpolated verses describe the duty of warriors which has no connection with Sāṅkhya, a philosophy of non-action. But the interpolation adds one more argument for fighting, and, therefore, appears relevant.

Criticism of Vedic Thought and Actions : 40–46

Verse 39 ends with the statement, 'Now listen to the Yoga way of thinking', and verse 47 starts with the exposition of the Karma-Yoga doctrine. The intermediate verses are, therefore, an unnecessary insertion by the third author who considers the Vedas and Vedic rites as subordinate to devotional theism. The concepts of व्यवसायात्मिका बुद्धि, भोगैश्वर्यप्रसक्त, योगक्षेम, निर्द्वन्द्व, etc. belong to the third author and the third period. This passage has caused tremendous confusion among commentators.

The Man of a Balanced Mind : 53–72

Verse 52 appears to be a conclusion of the second chapter and the Karma-Yoga argument. This passage is a later extension of the chapter, but quite relevant, very sublime and extremely popular. The interpolative nature of the paragraph is inferred on two grounds : the sudden change in terminology from बुद्धि and बुद्धियुक्त in the previous paragraph to प्रज्ञा and स्थितप्रज्ञ in the interpolation; and the use of particular terms occurring in the third period, e. g., समाधि, उद्विग्नमनाः, देहिन् (नरः), प्रमाथीनि, मत्परः, काम–क्रोध, प्रसाद, निर्मम, निरहंकार, etc. देहिन् is used by the first author in the sense of 'Soul', not 'man'. The repeated addition of such descriptions in other places is an additional reason for considering this passage to be a later addition.

Chapter III

Spiritual Contentment : 17–18

The suggestion in these verses is that a man with spiritual satisfaction needs no action. The meaning is vague and liable to double interpretation, in favour of or against action. The idea belongs to the later Upaniṣad, Muṇḍaka (3.14); आत्मक्रीड आत्मरतिः क्रियावान् । एष ब्रह्मविदां वरिष्ठः । These verses appear incongruous in the argument in favour of action. The words and phrases belong to the third author. Commentators are confused by these verses. The inclination towards detachment, Vairāgya, belongs to the third stage of the Gītā. The passage is vague, irrelevant, unnecessary and confusing in this context.

The Model of Elders : 20–25

The first person singular construction, and the peculiar terms लोकसंग्रह, संकर, उत्सीदेयुः, etc. belong to the third poet. The instance of the royal sage Janaka is in the tradition of the Rājarṣis of the third author. The passage is relevant and appropriate and fits well with the original poem, strengthening the argument of Karma-Yoga.

Faith in Me : 30–32

The first person singular and the words निराशीः, श्रद्धावन्तः, अनसूयन्तः, अभ्यसूयन्तः, नष्टान्, etc. belong to the new vocabulary of the third poet. The demand for implicit unquestioning faith is a feature of the third stage. The verses before and after this passage, 29 and 33, discuss the role of Prakṛti. The continuity of the original is disturbed unnecessarily to insert verses about faith in Me and the attitude of detachment.

Denunciation of Kāma and Krodha : 35–41

Verses 34 and 42 before and after this passage discuss the role of the organs of the senses, indriyas, in life and conclude that they are important but subordinate to Manas, Buddhi and the Soul. The third author has repeatedly denounced passion and anger in his original and interpolated passages. The special vocabulary, स्वधर्म, परधर्म, महापाप्मा, गर्भ, ज्ञान–विज्ञान, देहिन् (नरः), etc., confirms the authorship of the third stage. The interpolation is unnecessary; it disturbs the continuity of the original passage.

This passage has caused confusion among commentators about the meaning of सः in verse 42, as to whether it refers to Soul or Kāma. If the interpolation is disregarded, the meaning 'soul' is quite obvious. But the insertion of the Topic of Kāma-Krodha has misled some commentators like Rāmānujan who believe that the pronoun refers to Kāma, which in my opinion is absolutely incorrect.

Chapter IV

Incarnations of God Kṛṣṇa : 1–15

The concept of Divine Incarnation belongs to the third author. In the third stage of the Gītā, the whole poem was recast and

re-arranged around the central idea of Kṛṣṇa as the Divine Incarnation, which is amplified in this long paragraph. The special vocabulary also is indicative of the third stage : रहस्य, परम्–अपरम्, भूतानाम् ईश्वरः, माया, धर्म–अधर्म, साधु, धर्मसंस्थापना, दिव्य, चातुर्वर्ण्य, मुमुक्षु, etc. In the context of Karma-Yoga the example of God Kṛṣṇa is quite relevant and supports the main argument. The new concepts of the third stage and the emphatic first person singular definitely indicate the third author.

The passage is very popular and the idea of God appearing in human form for the restoration of Dharma is part and parcel of religious thinking. But there is a subtle difference between this dependence upon God of the third author and dependence upon the self of the first author (VI 5–6). There is a change in philosophy here, but it has passed unnoticed.

Action and Detachment : 20–22

The preceding and following verses 19 and 23 discuss the role of Knowledge in purifying action. This small paragraph disturbs the argument and inserts a description of the ideal man, with an inclination towards detachment. The words, निराश्रय, निराशीः, त्यक्तसर्वपरिग्रह, द्वन्द्वातीत, यदृच्छालाभसंतुष्ट, belong to the third author. This paragraph reduces the vigour in Karma-Yoga philosophy and gives it a tinge of renunciation.

The Source of Knowledge : 34–36

In the context of a description of knowledge, the verses are relevant and support the argument in favour of knowledge. But there is a subtle difference in the views of the first and the third authors with regard to the source of knowledge. The first author says that knowledge comes from within and the third states that it is given by philosophers. The difference between self-reliance and dependence is minute but important. Verse 35 with the word 'in Me' definitely indicates the third author. These verses are very popular.

Chapter V

Description of a Yogin : 3 and 7

The third author makes use of every opportunity to add descrip-

tions of ideal persons wherever possible. The words निर्द्वन्द्व, सर्वभूतात्मभूतात्मा, नित्यसंन्यासी, etc. belong to the third author. The verses are relevant and fit very well in the context of the original paragraph and cause no confusion.

Description of a Muni : 18–29

The opening and closing verses of this insertion bear the stamp of the third author. The main topic of Ch. V is a comparison of Karma-Yoga and Saṁnyāsa, and the discussion aptly concludes with verse 17. The extension of the chapter contains topics and terminology peculiar to the third author. Social and spiritual equality (18), the sorrowful consequences of pleasures (22), the influence of passion and anger (23, 26, 28), love for all living creatures (25), advanced practices in Yoga-śāstra (27) and finally the reference to Me (29)—all these are a part of the new ideology of the third philosopher. The paragraph has no unity of thought. It describes in a general way the mode of life of a Muni who has attained perfection. The ideas are good but the interpolation disturbs the logical plan of the discourse. The description of स्थितप्रज्ञ in Ch. II is similar.

Chapter VI

Description of a Yogin : 7–9

The third author has, as usual, used an opportunity to insert a description of the ideal Yogin, using words which are a part of his special vocabulary. The words, ज्ञान-विज्ञान, साधु, पाप, सुखदुःख, कूटस्थ, etc. belong to the third stage.

Meditation on Me : 13–17

The original topic is meditation on the self or the Soul. In the first stage there was no object for meditation. The third author gives a concrete object for concentration in the form of Lord Kṛṣṇa. The abstract meditation of the first author follows later. The words in the first person like मच्चित्तः, मत्परः, मत्संस्थाम्, etc. disclose the identity of the third author. The interpolation confuses the reader with regard to the sequence of ideas and the steps of meditation. But for the common man it provides a

concrete object for easy concentration instead of the abstract self of the first author.

The Omni-self Outlook : 29–32

The original topic concludes with verse 28, and the whole original poem concludes with verse 46. In between these two verses, two paragraphs have been added. This particular insertion describes the Yogin whose vision of the self extends to all living creatures, who entertains an attitude of equality and equanimity. These are new concepts of the third author. Besides, the words माम्, मयि, मे etc. in the first person singular confirm the presence of the third author. This is a very sublime passage, quite relevant to the context.

The Re-births of a Yogin : 33–45

This long paragraph, although an interpolation, fits well in the context and is a useful addition to the discourse on the practice of Yoga. The words and concepts in the paragraphs are a product of the third period of the Gītā, hence the addition can be recognized. अभ्यास, वैराग्य, शब्दब्रह्मन्, प्रयत्न, पुण्यकृतां लोकान्, श्रीमत्, etc. are words which are generally used by the third author. The idea of a Yogin who had practised Yoga in his previous life is a later development in Pātañjala Yoga. It should be noticed that the concepts and vocabulary of the third author show an advanced stage of development over those of the first author.

The Highest Yogin : 47

This is an illustration of the redaction technique of the third author, in which, by the insertion of a single verse, the whole chapter is given a devotional theistic turn. The original chapter concluded with verse 46, in which Yoga is shown to be superior to penance, knowledge (Sāṅkhya) and ordinary action, and Arjuna is exhorted to be a Yogin. This verse (46) also summarises the argument of the first six chapters of the original Gītā, which was intended to refute Sāṅkhya and establish Yoga. The purpose of the original Gītā is served. The problem before Arjuna on the battlefield was a smaller illustration of the larger problem. Arjuna's smaller problem is answered and solved. The interpolation of verse 47, therefore, is intended to enlarge, on theistic

and devotional lines, the original Gītā which ended with verse 46. The topic of Yoga was opened in Ch. II 39, and concluded in Ch. VI 46.

The Original Gītā

The elimination of the interpolated portions from the first sextet leaves for us the Original Gītā, as it first emerged from the lips of the original poet and philosopher, based on the message of Kṛṣṇa, which was handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth. It was a self-sufficient ethical-philosophical poem with a unity of purpose and design. There are no digressions, no repetitions, no irrelevant portions. A new philosophy of Yogic action, with a balanced mind and with disregard for selfish gain, is born on earth. All great men of India are influenced by this philosophy, consciously or unconsciously. Read the portions of the text in red ink at the end of this book, and you will be convinced about the authenticity of the poem.

The original Gītā contained in each chapter the following verses :

Ch. I	— 20–37, 45–47	..	21
Ch. II	— 10–13, 18–30, 39, 47–52	..	24
Ch. III	— 1–16, 19, 26–29, 33, 34, 42	..	24
Ch. IV	— 16–19, 23–33, 37–42	..	21
Ch. V	— 1, 2, 4–6, 8–17	..	15
Ch. VI	— 1–6, 10–12, 18–28, 46	..	21
			126

Authorship of the First Sextet

For a long time I was doubtful as to whether this Original Gītā was the composition of one or two authors. The residual first six chapters can be divided into two units from the view-point of purpose. The first two chapters offer a solution to the immediate and specific problem of Arjuna : to fight or not to fight. That has been solved by the second chapter. What may have been the need for the next four chapters ? From the view-point of style, topic, argument and continuity, these four chapters appear to be a logical extension of the first two chapters. I there-

fore concluded that both the units belong to a single author. His original plan was that of two chapters, but in order to give a wider perspective and application to his philosophy, he wrote the next four chapters in continuation of the first two. The problem of action or renunciation was a living issue in the society of his period. Therefore, he addressed his teachings to his contemporary audience consisting of the Sāṅkhya philosophers, scholars, monks, ascetics, hermits, friars, saints and similar orders resorting to renunciation. The exhortations in the second chapter differ from those in the next four. For Arjuna they are न त्वं शोचितुमर्हसि । but for others they are नियतं कुरु कर्म, कर्म समाचर, योगी भव, etc. All the six original chapters belong to a single author. His original plan of two chapters was expanded into six chapters in order to include among his audience a larger number of people whose problem was the same as that of Arjuna, but in different fields of life; action or renunciation. The last verse of the Original Gītā तस्माद् योगी भवार्जुन ।। (VI 46) is an apt conclusion to the philosophy of Yoga introduced in II 39, एषा तेऽभिहिता सांख्ये बुद्धिर्योगे त्विमां शृणु ।

The Second Sextet

Immediately after the first sextet of the original author comes the second sextet (except Ch. VIII) of the third author. This difference in the sequence of the chapters and the authors should be carefully noted. The third author wrote entirely anew Chapters VII, IX, X, XI, XII, and XVI of the present vulgate. Thus chronologically he stands third, but in the Gītā his chapters make the second sextet. Since he was the last of them all, his chapters remain uninterpolated. They are well arranged, continuous, coherent, purposeful and unmixed. The problem of eliminating interpolations from them does not arise.

The remaining six chapters in the present Gītā, VIII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVII and XVIII belong to the second author. Their original place in the second stage of the Gītā was, consecutively, from chapter VII to XII. The third author changed their sequence by inserting his own new chapters in the middle and shifting the portions of the second author to the third sextet. Thus the author is second chronologically, but his composition

is mainly in the third division. I have used the words sextets in a general way. Readers should note that Ch. VIII in the second sextet belongs to the second author and Ch. XVI in the third sextet belongs to the third author.

The second stage of the Gītā emerges when the interpolations of the third author are eliminated from the composition of the second author. The question naturally arises as to why the third author retained only one chapter, VIII, of the second author in the second sextet and shifted all the other chapters to the third sextet; and also why he inserted his own new chapters in the centre of the poem instead of at the end. If the topics of the different chapters VII to XVIII are carefully studied, the reason will be obvious. The subject matter of the third author is the creation of the universe, the original elements, the nature of matter, Soul and the Universal Being, the doctrines of monism, theism and devotion, the comparative value of other sects and their forms of worship, the mode of death and life after death, etc. These were very important topics which had to come prior to the chapters of the second author, dealing with the threefold division of matter, men and mentality. Ch. VIII dealing with matters of cosmology and eschatology was therefore retained in its place.

Since the chapters of the third author advocating theism and devotion to a personal God come in the centre, they assume great importance and are naturally regarded as an integral and vital part of the whole poem. The conclusion that this portion was added in the third stage, at a later date, is likely to be received with disfavour, resentment, reluctance and even opposition. But cool and sober consideration of the matter will prove that this finding and its use will facilitate a better, easier and rational interpretation of the Gītā and will make it universally popular.

The Second Author and Interpolations

The composition of the second author goes to form Ch. VIII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVII and XVIII of the present Gītā. Interpolations in this section by the third author are now under investigation.

Chapter VIII

Short Definitions : 1–7

In order to unify this chapter with his own Ch. VII, the third author has maintained a continuity in the topics at the end of the previous chapter and the opening of this one. The word Puruṣottama in the first verse and the first person references in verses 4 and 5 disclose the identity of the third author. The vocabulary belongs to the third period : अधियज्ञ, अधिभूत, अधिदैव, कलेवर, etc.

Remember Me to the Last : 11–16

This is clearly a repetition of the thought in verses 8–10 in which the Yogin is asked to meditate upon the Parama Puruṣa at the time of Yogic death. In the interpolated paragraph, the object of meditation throughout life and at the moment of death is Me. The words, मामनुस्मर, मामुपेत्य, मां स्मरति, etc. clearly disclose the authorship and purpose of the addition. The suggestion is that the Parama Puruṣa and Brahman are identical with Kṛṣṇa. The Yogic technique in the two paragraphs is slightly different. In the earlier paragraph it is भ्रुवोर्मध्ये प्राणमावेश्य सम्यक् । (10) and in this it is मूर्ध्न्याधायात्मनः प्राणम् । ॐ इत्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म व्याहरन् । (12, 13). Yoga is advanced in the third stage.

The contradiction in the views of the second and the third authors are implicit in verses 24 and 16. According to 24 Brahman is the final eternal state, but according to 16, Brahma-Bhuvana-Loka is temporary and My Abode is eternal.

The Highest State—My Abode : 21

This is another excellent illustration where, by the insertion of a single verse, a theistic turn is given to the views of the second author in the preceding and following verses. The purpose is to unify the three concepts of the Eternal Brahman, the Parama Puruṣa and My Abode; अक्षरब्रह्म, परमपुरुष, and मम परमं धाम. The three stages of the Gītā are clearly apparent here, in the concepts of abstract Brahman, the Parama Puruṣa and Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva.

Chapter XIII

This chapter presents an interpretational problem to a number of commentators. The test for understanding the Gītā lies in a satisfactory explanation of the complicated and interwoven concepts in this chapter. The original portion of the second author systematically explained the Sāṅkhya view of क्षेत्र–क्षेत्रज्ञ and प्रकृति–पुरुष, retaining the dualistic approach, विद्धचनादी, उभावपि in verse 19. The conclusion was that a knowledge of this dualism leads to salvation (verse 23). The third author has introduced the principle of the Highest Soul, Paramātman, into the chapter in order to give it a Vedāntic turn. Verses 22 and 31 are significant interpolations from this point of view.

'I am the Soul' : क्षेत्रज्ञं मां विद्धि । 2

The purpose of this interpolation is to identify the Soul with the Highest Soul—Kṛṣṇa.

Indications of Knowledge : 7–11

The word knowledge here is construed as the man of knowledge. The third author has used this occasion to repeat the epithets of the ideal and perfect person as usual. The words मयि चानन्य-योगेन भक्तिरव्यभिचारिणी । unflinching devotion to Me, is clearly the composition of the third poet. All the epithets indicative of detachment are included in this list. The words इन्द्रियार्थेषु वैराग्यम्, जन्म-मृत्यु-जरा-व्याधि-दुःख-दोषानुदर्शनम्, असक्तिरनभिष्वङ्गः पुत्रदारगृहादिषु, विविक्तदेशसेवित्वमरतिर्जनसंसदि... । etc. are clearly indicative of a spirit of renunciation. Such interpolations have led some commentators to give a monistic and negative interpretation of the Gītā.

The Goal of Knowledge : 12–18

This is a sublime composition on the analogy of the Upaniṣads. Verse 13 is taken from Śvetāśvatara, III 16, 17. The purpose of the third author is to add to the original Sāṅkhya discourse the concepts of the all-pervading Brahman, dwelling in the hearts of all creatures, and to identify the same with Kṛṣṇa. Verse 18 determines the author : 'My devotee should know this and approximate my Being'.

Identity of the Soul with the Highest Soul : 22, 27, 28, 30–32

These verses are inserted between the Sāṅkhya verses of the second author in order to show the identity of the individual soul with the all-pervading eternal Highest Soul, and thus change the Sāṅkhya dualism into Vedāntic monism. The devotional and theistic suggestions have already been added by verses 2 and 18.

The Original Chapter

Some old editions of the Gītā had an opening verse as follows :

प्रकृतिं पुरुषं चैव क्षेत्रं क्षेत्रज्ञमेव च ।
एतद्वेदितुमिच्छामि ज्ञानं ज्ञेयं च केशव ।।

This verse and the last verse, 34, clearly show that the contents of this chapter were originally limited to the Sāṅkhya concepts of प्रकृति-पुरुष and क्षेत्र-क्षेत्रज्ञ. The concepts of Paramātman and devotion are added in the third stage.

Chapter XIV

I am the Father : 1–4

The phrases in the first person singular denote the third author of this paragraph, गर्भं दधाम्यहम्, अहं बीजप्रदः पिता, मम साधर्म्यम्, मम योनिर्महद् ब्रह्म, etc. The purpose of this paragraph is to give a monotheistic turn to the main chapter, which is based on the dualistic Sāṅkhya principles of the Prakṛti and Puruṣa. The suggestion of this interpolation is that the Highest Soul and not merely the Prakṛti is the creator of this universe. Such additions have confounded commentators, who interpret the Gītā in several ways, monistic, dualistic and several combinations of the two.

Above the Three Qualities : 19, 21–27

The original conclusion of this chapter by the second author is condensed in verse 20, which says that the man above the three qualities attains salvation. The original chapter ended there on the Sāṅkhya note, that rising above the qualities of Prakṛti, through a knowledge of their working, is enough for salvation. But for the third author, devotion to Me is important, and man

cannot be perfect without it. Therefore the preceding 19th and the following 21st to 27th verses are added. The perfect man must have the usual moral qualities which are appended in the third stage. The familiar words मद्भावमधिगच्छति, मां च योऽव्यभिचारेण भक्तियोगेन सेवते, उदासीनवत्, समदुःखसुखः, सर्वारंभपरित्यागी, ब्रह्मणो हि प्रतिष्ठाहम्, शाश्वतस्य धर्मस्य belong to the third author. The last two stanzas incidentally indicate the identity of Brahman and Me. This interpolation is relevant and valuable for the chapter, but it modifies the original Sāṅkhya concepts.

Chapter XV

This chapter was an enigma for me with regard to its authorship, as far as the first five verses were concerned. About 6–20 I am certain that the third author has added them. Ultimately I decided that this must have been a short Upaniṣad which the second author included in his section. But I am really open to correction about this portion.

The Highest among the Three Puruṣas : 6–20

This is the sublimest passage in the whole poem, committed to memory and recited by a large number of people. It is an Upaniṣad in itself, unparalleled in poetry for its force, imagination, purity, rhythm, music and self-confidence. The linguistic power of the third author is seen here at its best.

The confident use of the first person singular is the surest indication about its authorship. The purpose is to expound the monistic philosophy concerning the unity of the soul, the universe and the Supreme Being. Devotion is also mentioned in 19.

The word Śāstra occurs here for the first time in the Gītā, and is repeated in XVI 24 and XVII 1. The teaching of the third philosopher is the Śāstra.

The whole of the next Ch. XVI belongs to the third stage.

Chapter XVII

Śāstra and Āsuras : 1, 5–6

These three verses are entirely irrelevant and extraneous to the whole chapter, which is otherwise very logical and neatly arranged. All items are classified in three categories, except

those in 5 and 6. The reference to Śāstra and Āsura indicate the third author. His philosophy is Śāstra (XV 20), and his method of classification is based on Daiva and Āsura (Ch. XVI). Also note the use of माम् in 6.

Chapter XVIII

The second and third poets are the joint authors of this chapter, but I studied it several times before deciding where to draw the dividing line. The threefold division of men, matter and mentality and the reference to Sāṅkhya authority are the peculiar features of the second poet. The third author is the advocate of the fourfold class system of society and the doctrine of implicit surrender to Me. On the basis of these special concepts of each poet, I assigned verses 1–40 and 49–53 to the second author and 41–48 and 54–78 to the third author.

The Four Classes and Salvation : 41–48

The description of the four classes, and the reference to Swadharma and Paradharma, definitely point to the third author.

Devotion and Surrender to God : 54–78

This long passage summarises the whole ideology of the third philosopher. One peculiarity here is that both the first person and the third person forms are used to express the idea of God. The poet is in the highest devotional mood; the humility of a human being unconsciously steals upon him and his own sentiments burst out spontaneously in the verses :

ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां हृद्देशेऽर्जुन तिष्ठति । (61)
तमेव शरणं गच्छ सर्वभावेन भारत । (62)

But soon he realises his Divine role as God Kṛṣṇa and resumes, in the first person,

मन्मना भव मद्भक्तो मद्याजी मां नमस्कुरु । (65)
सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज ।
अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः ।। (66)

This chapter is the best illustration of all the peculiarities of the second and the third philosophers, with regard to concepts, philosophy, exposition and style. General principles evolved through its study can be safely applied for identifying doubtful verses. The method of classification, analysis and objective presentation, and insistence on Yajña-Dāna-Tapas are found in verses 1–40 of the second stage. Powerful advocacy of the social class duties and of devotion to a personal God are the central themes of the latter part of the chapter which belongs to the third stage. Several words and phrases in this section are those which are the creation of the third author; e. g. मद्-भक्ति, मायया, शरणं गच्छ, प्रसाद, गुह्य, नमस्कुरु, सर्वधर्मान्, सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि, वासुदेव, अद्भुत, योगेश्वर etc.

Second Stage Gītā

The original Gītā, described previously in this chapter, and the portions from the chapters of the second author, constituted the second stage of the Gītā. This second author added his chapters VIII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVII and XVIII (formerly VII, VIII, IX, X, XI and XII) to the original Gītā and completed the second stage text. The third author added his portions to these chapters also. When these are eliminated, the residual portion to the account of the second author is as below :

Ch.	VIII	8–10, 17–20, 22–28	..	14
Ch.	XIII	1, 3–6, 19–21, 23–26, 29, 33, 34	..	15
Ch.	XIV	5–18, 29	..	15
Ch.	XV	1–5	..	5
Ch.	XVII	2–4, 7–28	..	25
Ch.	XVIII	1–40, 49–53	..	45
				119

These are the interpolations or additions by the second author.

The Three Stages of the Gītā

The present Gītā of 700 verses is the third stage of the poem, as revised by the third poet-philosopher. He wrote it in the role

of Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, which may account for the name of the vulgate, *Bhagavad-Gītā*. After eliminating the six entire chapters written by the third author, and also the portions interpolated by him in the remaining chapters, we come to the second stage of the poem, with 12 chapters and 245 (126 + 119) verses. At this stage the name was probably *Gītās-Upaniṣads*. Then again by cutting out the six chapters of the second author we come to our objective, the Original Gītā, with 6 chapters and 126 verses. The name at this stage was probably just *Gītā*. In the manuscript editions collected by the Bhāndārkar Oriental Research Institute for the editing of the Bhīṣma-Parvan, a variety of terms like गीतायाम्, गीतासु उपनिषत्सु, श्रीमद् भगवद्गीतासु उपनिषत्सु are found. They are probably the residual portions from the colophons of the old Gītā at different stages.

This three-stage division of the Gītā is attempted, not as an academic pastime, but as an essential step for a coherent, rational and satisfactory interpretation of the poem, and for resolving the apparent contradictions and diversity of views found in the text. It would be easy to understand and grasp the significance of the poem if this division is kept in view.

Contribution of the Third Author

The comparative contributions of the three authors to the vulgate of 700 verses are 126, 119 and 455. In terms of percentages, the first poet contributed 18%, the second 17% and the third 65%. The lion's share is contributed by the third author. He, therefore, influences the whole poem. His powerful, facile and eloquent pen has put new life into every chapter, and his philosophy appeals to the common man. The reader is highly impressed and influenced by the spirit of devotion, the moral emphasis, the concern for Dharma, the pledge of redemption for all, the optimism, and the ruthless denunciation of selfish, materialistic, hypocritical, power-hungry demons in society. The purity, sublimity and assurance of his style drives his teaching deep into the hearts of the audience. The minor weaknesses and foibles in his composition are overshadowed by his good qualities. The first and the second authors also have their peculiar qualities and valuable messages. It is upon their foundation that the third author has built his spacious temple. The logical

genius and eternal message of the first author, and the analytical ability and the moral guidance of the second, are all concealed under the numerous interpolations of the third philosopher.

The controversies among scholars about the ultimate message of the Gītā are due to this threefold influence of the three authors. The influence of a particular author on the mind of the reader determines his interpretation of the teaching of the poem.

The literary achievement of the third author deserves to be studied as a special interpolatory technique. His task was extremely hard. He had to weave his composition in between that of the first two authors, without modifying the original text. He inserted his ideas wherever they could fit in, in the beginning, middle or end. In some cases he has given a devotional, monistic or theistic turn to whole paragraphs or chapters by inserting a single verse. In spite of all his care, the scrupulous reader, following the discourse of the poem with logical acumen, experiences difficulties in straightforward interpretation. Commentators have evercome these difficulties in their own traditional ways. They could do this with some success owing to the skill of the third author in integrating and unifying his composition and philosophy with the work of the two previous authors.

Expansion of the Gītā

The gradual expansion of the Gītā through the three stages will be clear from the following table (the numbers indicate verses) :

THREE STAGES OF THE GĪTĀ

	First Stage	*Second Stage*	*Third Stage*
I Author	126	126	126
II Author	—	119	119
III Author	—	—	455
Total Verses	126	245	700
Total Chapters	6	12	18
Nos. of Chapters	1 to 6	1 to 6, 8, 13, 15, 17, 18	1 to 18

The comparative share of each author in the vulgate is shown in the following table :

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE THREE AUTHORS

Chapter :	I *Author* :	II *Author* :	III *Author* :	*Vulgate*
1	21		26	47
2	24		48	72
3	24		19	43
4	21		21	42
5	15		14	29
6	21		26	47
7			30	30
8		14	14	28
9			34	34
10			42	42
11			55	55
12			20	20
13		15	19	34
14		15	12	27
15		5	15	20
16			24	24
17		25	3	28
18		45	33	78
Total	126	119	455	700

The proportion of original and interpolated verses in the divisions of the three authors are indicated in the following table :

PROPORTION OF ORIGINAL AND INTERPOLATED VERSES

Author :	*Original* :	*Additions* :	*Total*
I Author	126	154	280
II Author	119	96	215
III Author	205	—	205
	450	250	700

Proportion of Original and Interpolated Verses

A comparison of interpolated and original verses in the different chapters shows that :

5 chapters contain a larger number than the original — 1, 2, 6, 13 and 15;
5 chapters contain a smaller number than the original — 3, 5, 14, 17 and 18; and
2 chapters contain an equal number of both;
6 chapters of the third author contain no interpolations — 7, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 16.

The Total Number of Verses—700 or 745 ?

The total number of verses in the vulgate is 700. In the beginning of the Bhīṣma-Parvan of the Mahābhārata, there are some verses which indicate that the Gītā contains 745 verses in all. But research scholars are not unanimous in the identification of the additional 45 verses; therefore, I have not taken that number into account. The portion of each author would slightly change in the same proportion as before, if and when these extra verses are identified. The conclusion about the plurality of authorship and dates would not be affected.

Margin of Probable Error

I do not contend that the number of verses apportioned to each author is exactly the same as shown in my calculations. There is a likelihood of an error to the extent of 5 or 6 per cent. There is a limit to objectivity and accuracy in the calculations of a thesis in which language and concepts are the main criteria of judgment. The mathematical precision of a research in science or mathematics cannot be expected in literary and philosophical research. Some margin of error in every research is allowed, and I also claim the benefit of that privilege. But such an error does not in the least vitiate the conclusions of my investigation. It is possible to allot more verses to the third author. Some of the questions and exclamations of Arjuna, in which different proper nouns for Kṛṣṇa are used, might be the composition of the third redactor. But, since they do not make any material difference in ideas, I have retained the existing text.

The Criteria of Accuracy

The precise number of verses assigned to each author is not of vital importance to my thesis. The main object of my investigation is to facilitate satisfactory and consistent understanding. Readers should try to read the three different divisions in the isolated and un-interpolated form and see if the treatment of topics is coherent and consistent, without contradictions and wide digressions. They should try to see if the chapters of the three authors, as evolved through this investigation, have some unity of arrangement and thought. I am personally satisfied on all these counts. I am hopeful my readers will share my experience and conclusions; that they will understand the Gītā in this form better than they did before. This is the test.

XIV

Objectives and Results of Interpolations

Meaning of the Word Interpolation

The word 'interpolation' is used in this investigation in a technical sense, because in all the previous literature on this subject by critical and research writers, the probable additions to and modifications of the Gītā are usually indicated by this very term. I do not at all want to depreciate the value of the portions added by the second and third authors. On the contrary, I maintain that it is due to these additions that the Gītā has remained a living and inspiring force, in India and outside. In modern literary criticism, the term has rather a disparaging connotation, reflecting on the motives of the interpolator. No such insinuation is intended in my essay. The modern implications of the term are not applicable to the ancient interpolators who did their task purely out of a sense of duty and service, in order to bring the popular works up to date. They had no personal ambition and did not seek fame or publicity either for themselves or even for their works under pseudonyms. Readers should, therefore, keep in mind this connotation of the term whenever it occurs in this book. It only means addition, expansion, enlargement, and extension, in order to add up to date knowledge and the needed philosophy.

General Objectives of Interpolation

The original author of the Gītā composed the poem on the basis of the available traditional material about the conversation between Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa. The poet utilised this occasion to inspire his contemporary society to selfless disinterested action, by preaching to them a new philosophy of Karman rooted in Yoga. The succeeding two authors believed in the value and

importance of this philosophy, and made their additions to the poem to support and strengthen it. They did something more. They explained the application of this doctrine to the affairs of every-day life, in the context of their contemporary social conditions. Philosophical and religious truths are eternal and everlasting. But their applications and implications change according to changing social conditions from age to age and place to place. The second author spelt out the meaning of Karman and Yoga, by analysing the different factors involved, on the basis of the threefold division of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas. The third author simplified, for the common people, the same philosophy by exhorting them to surrender and dedicate all their actions to God. This was democratisation of the philosophy of Karman and Yoga.

The second objective of the interpolating philosophers was to bring the poem abreast of the times, by incorporating into it the advances of knowledge in the field of metaphysics and philosophy. The Original Gītā was a purely ethical treatise, to which the second author added the then existing doctrines of metaphysics, cosmology and religion. He thus made it a complete guide for life, theoretical and practical. The third author likewise added the Vedānta philosophy and metaphysics, which had made substantial progress by that period. Without the addition of these two sets of interpolations, the Gītā would have become a back number; an imperfect and incomplete guide to life.

In every society, large or small, there are diversities of religious and ethical practices and philosophies, which lead to internal conflicts in the minds of individuals and among different social groups. The task of all the three authors was to resolve these conflicts in their own way, and bring about an integration and a synthesis out of the apparent diversities. These are the general principles underlying the interpolations. Their objectives are impersonal, sincere, noble and honorable.

Specific Objectives of the First Author

The objectives of the first Gītā are the central theme of the poem throughout its course, and they give a kind of unity to the discourse. These objectives arise out of the battlefield situation, as well as the social and religious conditions under which the

dialogue between Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa was woven in a literary form. The age was dominated by the ideas of renunciation and retirement from active life. The thinkers and composers of the Upaniṣads came from the Brahmin and the Warrior classes, and the other classes were also influenced by their ideas. Systems of philosophy were not fully developed at that period. It was in a way the beginning of Indian philosophy. Its doctrines were gradually emerging out of the introspections and investigations of the Brahmin and royal sages. They were in earnest pursuit of the ultimate principles, even to the gross neglect of their domestic and social duties. They were in search of the Soul and Brahman. A school of thinkers preached that spiritual realization could only be achieved by an intensive pursuit of that ideal, which necessitated the renunciation of all active life. Retirement from active life was necessary for spiritual realization, and after the attainment of that goal action was unnecessary. This attitude resulted in the popularity of the doctrine of renunciation. Different orders of monks, ascetics and friars prevailed. The leading among them was the group of Sāṅkhya philosophers and ascetics who formulated a systematic philosophy advocating renunciation.

The leading thinkers saw the danger to society and family life from the negative attitude of monistic philosophers. The original author of the Gītā formulated a positive philosophy in order to halt the trend towards renunciation. This, he realised, could only be done through persuasion, and an attitude of reconciliation. He combined the renunciatory attitude of Saṁnyāsa with Karma, and created a new philosophy of Niṣkāma Karmayoga or Yoga. This was preached by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna on the battlefield and practised by him in his own life. The logic and argument of the philosophy was developed by the composer of the Original Gītā.

The main doctrines of the Sāṅkhya school were, the immortality of the Soul, dualism between the Soul and the Prakṛti, the importance of spiritual knowledge, and renunciation in order to avoid the further consequences of Karman. The author of the Gītā accepted all the arguments of Sāṅkhya, but concluded that renunciation should be resorted to only when the Saṁnyāsa attitude was ripe, and this could only result through day-to-day

activity. Thus the premises of Sāṅkhya and Yoga were the same, but the conclusions were different.

This philosophy of Yoga and Karman, Karma-Yoga, is preached to Arjuna in the six chapters of the original Gītā, and along with him to a larger audience of scholars, philosophers, ascetics and monks. Viewed in this light, the interpretation of the Original Gītā is an easy task. The purpose of each chapter, as it emerges after the elimination of the interpolated portions is given below :

Chapter I : A dramatic situation in which Arjuna finds himself, and in which every human being finds himself in every-day life, is vividly presented. The dilemma between duty and retirement from life, between action and renunciation, between the family and the forest, between the king's throne and the ascetic's bowl, between Karma and A-karma, is presented in the opening chapter. The specific problem before Arjuna is fighting and causing bloodshed among relatives or leaving the battlefield. The author of the Gītā has enlarged this into a general problem of action and non-action, of which Arjuna's problem is only a fraction. Therefore, the last line of the last, i. e., Chapter VI of the Original Gītā ends with the exhortation : 'Therefore be a Yogin'—तस्माद् योगी भवार्जुन । (VI 46).

Chapter II : The Sāṅkhya doctrine of the immortality of the Soul is accepted. It is also an answer to Arjuna's question about causing the death of relatives. In the latter part of the chapter, the principle of Yoga is explained. Yoga is a mental and spiritual discipline which engenders a philosophical and balanced attitude. Karma-Yoga is Yogic Karman or every-day work with a Yogic attitude, without any anxiety for its consequences.

Chapter III : According to Sāṅkhya, Prakṛti or nature and her qualities are the cause of action, and the Soul is aloof from it. The individual therefore should allow the bodily organs to perform their functions, but mentally and intellectually he should be aloof. The hierarchy of the organs, the mind, the intelligence and the soul should be recognised. Incidentally, reference is made to the duty of performing sacrifices with a sense of surrender.

CHAPTER IV : Like Sāṇkhya philosophers, the author of the Gītā also considers knowledge as essential for salvation. But non-action after the attainment of knowledge is not necessary, because knowledge is a fire which burns the consequences of actions. Action without the hankering for its fruits is identical with non-action.

Incidentally, along with the traditional sacrifices with material offerings, other activities such as penance, spiritual practices (Yoga), pursuit of knowledge, etc., are considered as good as ritualistic sacrifices.

CHAPTER V : The Sāṅkhya ideal of Renunciation is conceded but, says the Gītā, the attitude of renunciation can only be developed through every-day actions. So the goals of Sāṅkhya and Yoga are identical. Let nature do the work of physical actions; keep the mind aloof, and surrender all actions and their fruits to Brahman. This will absolve the agent from the good or bad consequences of actions.

CHAPTER VI : To be able to relinquish desires and the fruits of action, mental and spiritual discipline is essential. Self-effort is important for salvation. Every individual should practise Yoga, the art of isolating the mind from all external diversions and internal longings, and trying to be in tune with the Infinite. This will give him the highest joy and peace of mind, and the requisite poise for Karma-Yoga.

Compared with all other paths of mere knowledge (Sāṅkhya), mere bodily penance and mere bodily activities, Yoga is far superior. 'Therefore, O Arjuna, become a Yogin' तस्माद्योगी भवार्जुन । (VI 46).

Here ends the message of the Original Gītā, that of Yoga and Karma-Yoga.

Implications for the Modern Age

The Original Gītā supplies the main theme which is the foundation for the next two stages. Selfless action with a balanced mind, without anxiety for the consequences, leads to happiness and peace of mind. This message is useful for all times, especially for the modern age. Our present problem is not renunciation or non-action, but 'What action ?' and 'What about the consequences ?'. The solution is supplied by the

Gītā. Your outward action is less important than your attitude, motive and philosophy. If your choice of action is made with a serene, balanced, equipoised mind, with selfless motive, you may disregard the consequences, because they are entirely out of your control. This will lead to mental peace and happiness. Cultivate the habit of detaching the mind from the external and internal stimulii and merging it with the ocean of the universal mind. This daily discipline of Yoga will give you the power of cool judgment and the courage to face the consequences without joy or sorrow. Cultivate the attitude of a Yogin and do your work.

Objectives of the Second Author

The composition of the second author emerges when the interpolations by the third author are eliminated from Chapters VIII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVII and XVIII. The first philosopher developed the theoretical basis of Karma-Yoga, but its translation in terms of the every-day life activities was not easy for ordinary persons. Action with a pure and selfless motive is no doubt good; but, in the hands of ordinary persons, this doctrine may lead to disastrous results. Therefore the second author spelt out the details of all the factors involved in actions, and divided them into the three categories of the Sublime, the Ordinary and the Debased; the ideal, the tolerable and the condemnable; Sātvika, Rājasa and Tāmasa. On this basis he gave a threefold description of the twelve aspects of action in Chapters XVII and XVIII. The motivating factors are described under त्याग, ज्ञान, बुद्धि, धृति, कर्ता, सुख, etc. and the outward manifestations in action are given under उपासना, आहार, यज्ञ, दान, तपस् and कर्मन्. This was concrete moral guidance about correct attitudes and desirable actions.

The second author also supplemented the Gītā by the inclusion of contemporary concepts about metaphysics, cosmology and theology. During the period of about a century that must have elapsed between the first and second stages of the Gītā, philosophical doctrines were developed. The systems or Darśanas as such were not finalised as yet, but the ideological material for them was gathering. Further advanced concepts in Sāṅkhya, Yoga (Pātañjala) and Vedānta were developed. The creation

of the universe and its dissolution, the fundamental elements, Prakṛti and Puruṣa, Kṣetra and Kṣetrajña, the three qualities or evolutes of Prakṛti, the Universal Being, the state of the Soul after death, the bright and dark paths after death, all such doctrines were included in Chapters VIII, XIII and XIV. This author was extremely tolerant, so he gave equal credit for the diverse philosophies and their paths leading to release. In this way, metaphysics and cosmology were added to the Gītā and its ethical part was made more practicable. The objectives of each chapter are outlined below.

Chapter VIII : The emergence and dissolution of the universe, the two states after death, and advanced practices in Yoga (Pātañjala) formed the original contents of this chapter. A passing reference to Bhakti for the Universal Being is made, but the objective is an abstract principle, not a personal God.

Chapter XIII : The Sāṅkhya concepts about Nature and man form the topic of the original chapter. Prakṛti automatically evolves into the external world and the individual soul gets involved in it. When man realizes his distinctness and aloofness from matter, he is released. Knowledge leads to salvation. Various paths are equally good for salvation—Contemplation, Knowledge, Selfless Action and others.

Chapter XIV : Diversity in man and the universe is explained by the three qualities of Nature, Sattva, Rajas and Tamas. Every being is a combination of these three qualities in different proportions; therefore human beings differ from one another in motives and actions. The ideal of man should be to rise above the three qualities and remain unmoved. This is salvation.

Chapter XVII : On the basis of the three qualities, three kinds of actions are described with reference to belief, worship, diet, sacrifice, penance, and philanthropy. The preference of the second author for the tradition of sacrificial rites is clearly indicated in this chapter. He insists that they must be performed according to all their rules and regulations about hymns, offerings and gifts.

Chapter XVIII : The performance of Sacrifice, Penance and Charity with a spirit of unselfishness, detachment and a sense of duty is again emphasised. The Sāṅkhya analysis of the

five factors involved in action is given in detail. The three-fold division on the basis of qualities is given with special reference to Motives; knowledge, action, agent, intellect, will and happiness.

Conclusion : The second division of the Gītā ends on a note of the universality of the three qualities. There must have been a conclusion for the second stage of the whole poem, but it was probably cut out, in order to make place for the new conclusion of the revised third stage of the Gītā. It is probable that verses 49–53 formed the brief conclusion of the second stage.

Objectives of the Third Author

About three centuries must have elapsed between the second and the third stages of the Gītā. During this period a vast transformation had taken place in the ways of living and thinking of the people. The second stage Gītā was inadequate to satisfy the spiritual and religious needs of all. The abstract concepts of selfless action, an unseen Universal Being or Brahman, the Sāṅkhya doctrines of Nature and Soul, abstract contemplation, all these were understandable as far as philosophers, scholars, ascetics, monks and the intellectual elite were concerned. But they were beyond the understanding and practice of the common people who were spiritually starved. Nature abhors vacuum. People developed their own forms of worship and religious practices. A variety of gods, deities and other objects of worship and different modes of worship were automatically developed. The emergence of personal gods was accompanied by the sentiment of devotion. The task of the third author was to bring about a unification, integration and reconciliation in the vast diversity of religious practices that prevailed in society. The old sacrificial tradition and the Vedic forms of worship still prevailed. Mythology developed various gods and their worship. Worship of demi-gods, ancestors, ghosts, devils, natural elements, animals, trees, etc. became popular. Chapters VII, VIII and X give a general idea of the religious conditions that prevailed. The other aspect of society was the existence of atheists, hedonists and materialists, who worshipped sensual pleasures, wealth, power and prestige. Chapter XVI describes these people as of demonic temperament. The task of the third author was thus extremely complicated. But as a man of outstanding genius

and constructive imagination, he rose to the occasion and delivered a message that resounded throughout the length and breadth of India.

From the viewpoint of religious reconstruction, his task was two-fold; first to integrate the different forms of worship and gods under a common banner; and second, to create for the common people a form of worship which they could understand and practise. The Vedānta doctrine concerning the Universal Spirit as the source of all existence was fully developed. This was associated with Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, a personal God, who was an incarnation and embodiment of Brahman, the Universal Spirit. Devotion to God would lead to salvation. These philosophical and theological doctrines were associated with all the contemporary religious practices. Worship of any god ultimately reaches Vāsudeva, who is Brahman, the Universal Spirit. In this way all the gross, primitive and crude forms of worship were sublimated, by giving them a spiritual meaning and a philosophy. The higher forms of philosophy and worship and the popular modes of prayer were thus integrated and unified by the third philosopher.

The third author added a moral and humanitarian emphasis to the Gītā. The descriptions of ideal persons constantly hammer home individual, social and spiritual virtues and the humanitarian outlook. There is undoubtedly a tinge of detachment and renunciation, the Vairāgya attitude. But this was probably a reaction against the materialism and hedonism that was developing in society.

The third philosopher was also a far-sighted sociologist. The stability of society was his main concern. The words Loka-Saṅgraha and Saṅkara in his composition are very important. They signify integration in society on the one hand, and disintegration and confusion on the other. The economics of the period was based on the duties and occupations of the four classes. It was a form of planned society of the period. If any class relinquished its duties, society would starve and collapse. Therefore the performance of every-day duties was identified with the worship of God. Karma-Yoga was taught in this form.

This third poet has the greatest concern for Dharma in all its forms. Of the three authors, this one has used the word several

times in all its varied forms, धर्म, स्वधर्म, परधर्म, धर्मसंस्थापना, धर्म-ग्लानि, अधर्म, धर्म्य, धर्माविरुद्ध, etc. This shows the purpose of his redaction : to establish the dominance of a moral order, to reinstate virtue, to inculcate social consciousness and to revive the religious spirit.

The second author had added to the Gītā Sāṅkhya concepts of philosophy, which suggested a dualism between Nature and Soul, which failed to emphasise the existence of a Universal Soul or Being. This deficiency was made up by the third author who gave a Vedāntic form and a devotional, theistic turn to Sāṅkhya philosophy wherever it appeared in the Gītā. Similarly abstract ideas about Brahman were identified and associated with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. An eloquent and powerful advocacy of devotional theism was made in the middle sextet and in Chapter XVIII. The simplified forms of worship brought religion within the reach of all those who were till then barred from participation in the Vedic ways of worship.

Conclusion : The redaction by the third author was the most important event in the life of the Gītā. It revived, regenerated and vitalised anew religion, society, morals and philosophy. It became the textbook of life.

The objectives of each chapter will show how the new ideology was interwoven throughout the Gītā by the third author.

Entire Chapters

Chapter VII : The eightfold creation and the living spirit underlying the universe are the embodiments of God, who is Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa. The true philosopher who realizes that Vāsudeva pervades the whole universe is the most favourite of God. Those who worship other gods, unknowingly worship the Supreme Being. Unswerving devotion leads to the realization of true knowledge about God.

Chapter IX : The whole universe emerges out of God and ultimately dissolves in Him. With the help of his Prakṛti he creates it again and again. This is Divine Karma-Yoga. This Universal Being underlies the diversity of the different Gods worshipped by ignorant people. Those who worship Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with sincere devotion are liberated from the consequences

of their actions. His worship needs only water, leaves, flowers and above all, devotion. Not only Brahmin and Kṣatriya sages, but also traders, farmers, workers and women attain salvation through devotion. Even the most sinful people, through repentance and devotion, receive redemption.

Chapter X : God pervades the universe. But for worship and contemplation, great and sublime objects in every category of creation may be used. The Vedic deities, the mythological deities, the demi-gods, and all the sacred objects that are worshipped are the emanation of the Supreme Being.

Chapter XI : The Supreme Being is manifested in beautiful and sublime as well as in terrible and destructive forms. He pervades all space, the whole Universe from the earth to the sky. He covers all Time, which has neither beginning nor end. All created things gradually march towards dissolution in Him. He is both creation and dissolution, birth and death. Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa in human form is his embodiment for the sake of worship and devotion. Surrender all actions to Him.

Chapter XII : There are two forms of worship. Some worship the abstract principle of the Supreme Being through meditation. This is difficult for ordinary people. They should worship Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa with deep devotion. Surrendering all actions to God is the best way of worship. The true devotee is one who is above the dualisms of life and free from all attachments.

Chapter XVI : Human beings are of two kinds, the Divine and the Demonic. Persons of Divine qualities cultivate the moral and spiritual virtues. But persons of Demonic disposition are atheistic, materialistic, hedonistic and devoted to wealth, power and prestige. Their destiny is perdition.

Objectives of Interpolated Portions

The contents and objectives of the interpolations of the third author in the sections of the first and second author have already been described in the previous chapter. They may be summarised as follows :

To revive the atmosphere of the battlefield.

To give a Vedāntic, Theistic and devotional form to Sāṅkhya doctrines.

To expound the theory of the incarnation of God in the form of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.

To introduce the devotional aspect wherever possible.

To suggest the identity of Brahma and Kṛṣṇa.

To add descriptions of moral and spiritual perfection wherever possible.

To give a devotional turn to Yoga (Pātañjala) by suggesting contemplation on a personal God.

To highlight the Vedāntic doctrine of the Highest Soul, of which Nature and human souls are only a fraction.

To show the omnipotence of God and the desirability of surrendering to His will.

Not a Static, but a Dynamic Work

Readers will now realize that the Gītā has not remained a static textbook. It has marched with the times. It has tried to grapple with contemporary spiritual problems and suggested far-reaching solutions. The first author was confronted with the conflict between life and renunciation. He evolved a new synthetic philosophy of Yoga which has influenced the Indian mind for centuries. The second author supplied practical guidance to action and also supplemented the poem with metaphysics, cosmology and theology. Finally came the third philosopher, who was confronted with the problem of integrating and unifying a plethora of religious practices and forms of worship. He discovered a solution which has moulded the spiritual life of the elite and the common people over several centuries.

All the three authors agreed on certain fundamental issues. That is why they participated at different periods in developing and finalising a common Book. Therefore, there is a fundamental unity of viewpoints and philosophy in the Gītā. But every author has his individuality and every age has its special problems that are bound to be reflected in a composition. This fact has introduced certain diversities and contradictions in the Gītā, which make a satisfactory explanation difficult. If the three divisions of the poem are scrupulously kept in mind, all the contradictions will be explained and interpretation will be facilitated.

XV

Composite Impact of the Gītā

WHAT really is the ultimate message of the Gītā ? The final and lasting impression that lingers in the mind of a reader after studying the 700 verses is, for that person at least, the ultimate teaching of the poem. It should not be difficult to have a reasonable unanimity of views on this subject. But the fact is that scholars are divided amongst themselves on the central theme of the book. Jñāna-Yoga, Saṁnyāsa, Bhakti-Yoga, Karma-Yoga, Mokṣa, Dhyāna-Yoga, Moral behaviour—these are several important topics in the Gītā. Commentators and critics have written their works with either one or other of these accepted as the central message. In order to avoid this one-sidedness, some scholars assert that a combination of two or three—Karman, Jñāna and Bhakti—is the final teaching. All these are, inevitably, subjective impressions.

Two Criteria

Is it possible to determine objectively the final message of the Gītā ? What are the factors that contribute to make, strengthen and confirm the final impression of a reader ? There are, I think, two factors involved : the quantitative and the qualitative. The quantitative test may be the total number of verses that are given to the topic; and the qualitative test is the power and eloquence with which a particular topic is discussed and preached. It is but natural that a poet would devote a larger number of verses to the topic which is the central part of his teaching. Similarly he would put all his literary skill into the exposition of the same. Such portions make a stronger and deeper impression on the reader, for whom they may constitute the substance of the poem.

The Quantitative Aspect

In order to settle the question concerning the substance of the Gītā, I divided the main topics into four categories, one or two of which are generally claimed to be the ultimate message—Karman, Jñāna, Bhakti and Morals. I made a detailed note of the verses devoted to each of these topics by the three poets in their respective sections. The total number of verses under each category was counted. Sometimes a particular verse refers to more than one subject, in which case it was put under the category of the main topic of the paragraph or context in which the verse was found. A slightly subjective element does creep in such an allocation. The number of verses in my calculation is 595, less than the total number 700, because unimportant verses have been left out of the count.

Topics and the Number of Verses

THE FIRST AUTHOR—THE ORIGINAL GĪTĀ

Chapters	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	*Total*
Karman	—	7	21	21	15	7	71
Jñāna	—	16	1	—	—	14	31
Bhakti	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Morals	—	—	1	—	—	—	1

THE SECOND AUTHOR

Chapters	VIII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVII	XVIII	*Total*
Karman	—	—	—	—	—	40	40
Jñāna	11	14	14	5	—	—	44
Bhakti	4	—	—	—	—	—	4
Morals	—	—	1	—	25	—	26

The two tables indicate that the first Gītā was composed for the defence of Karman; the second author reinforced that very doctrine and supplemented it with the theory of the universe and creation.

THE THIRD AUTHOR

Chapters	*Karman*	*Jñāna*	*Bhakti*	*Morals*
I	—	—	—	—
II	15	2	—	22
III	9	—	—	8
IV	7	8	2	3
V	—	2	1	11
VI	—	3	3	11
VII	—	15	10	—
VIII	—	4	10	—
IX	3	13	13	—
X	—	33	5	—
XI	—	26	21	—
XII	2	—	13	7
XIII	—	13	1	5
XIV	—	3	3	5
XV	—	13	1	—
XVI	—	—	—	24
XVII	—	—	—	2
XVIII	14	—	9	3
Total	50	135	92	101

The interpolations in the third stage Gītā emphasise Bhakti with Jñāna and Morals with Vairāgya.

The three stages through which the topics were developed and reinforced are shown below :

STAGES OF GROWTH OF THE TOPICS

Topics	*First stage Original Gītā*	*Second Stage*	*Third—Final Stage*
Karman	71	71 + 40 = 111	111 + 50 = 161
Jñāna	31	31 + 44 = 75	75 + 135 = 210
Bhakti	—	0 + 4 = 4	4 + 92 = 96
Morals	1	1 + 26 = 27	27 + 101 = 128

The First Stage

A glance at the classification in the first stage Gītā discloses that the original author has not devoted a single verse to devotion and morals. Probably during his age the concept of Bhakti did not occupy an important place in the every-day life of the people to whom the teaching was addressed. The original Gītā therefore emphasises two topics, Karman and Jñāna; Karman including morals and ethics. 71 verses are devoted to Karman and 31 to Jñāna. The verses referring to Jñāna are in connection with Karman. The conclusion is inevitable that the Original Gītā and its author preached primarily the message of Karma-Yoga.

The Second Stage

In the second stage, in his section of the composition, the second author has devoted 40 verses to Karman, 44 to Jñāna, 4 to Bhakti and 26 to Morals. This author also appears to emphasise Karman and Jñāna like the first author. Next to them come Morals, and then a passing reference to Bhakti in 4 verses. The verses devoted to Jñāna are purely for the discussion of that very topic, but those devoted to morals are in the context of discussing the details of Karman. Ultimately, verses referring to Karman come to 65. If this author is taken in isolation, his emphasis is mainly on Karman, and next to that on Jñāna.

The second stage of the Gītā, with the combined verses of both the first and second authors, shows the following allocation : Karman 111, Jñāna 75, Morals 28 and Bhakti 4. We may safely conclude that the Gītā, at this stage, preached the doctrine of Karma-Yoga based on Jñāna-Yoga. Next came Morals, which are a part of Karman. Bhakti was just mentioned, but not developed.

The Third Author

When the third author drastically rearranged and enlarged the Gītā from beginning to end, he added verses on different topics according to his own preference. The allocation is : Karman 50, Jñāna 135, Bhakti 92 and Morals 101. It is apparent that out of the four topics, Jñāna and Morals are given an important place. But when we look to the context in which Jñāna verses appear,

it is seen that it is closely associated with Bhakti. Ultimately, the Jñāna and Bhakti verses have the total effect of Bhakti, which undoubtedly was the favourite subject for the third author. The verses devoted to morals contain a strong element of Vairāgya, detachment. Karman gets only 50 verses. If the composition of the third poet alone is taken, it shows his predilection for Bhakti and Morals with Vairāgya.

The Final Stage of the Gītā

The final Gītā now emerges with the verses of all the three authors in the following proportion : Karman 161, Jñāna 210, Bhakti 96, and Morals 133. Apparently Jñāna and Karman should make a strong impression on the reader. But a majority of the verses on Jñāna, 135 out of 219, are connected with Bhakti. Thus Bhakti and Jñāna make up a total of 306 verses, as compared to the 161 verses for Karman. The majority of verses for Morals, 101 out of 128, emphasise Vairāgya. Quantitatively speaking, therefore, the final Gītā appears to inculcate Bhakti-Jñāna-Vairāgya more than Karman.

Qualitative Aspects

The qualitative aspect is as important as the quantitative. Both together make the total impact on the reader. The qualitative aspects include the style of the author and his method of exposition. These topics have already been discussed in Ch. VII. For purposes of clarification some salient points are repeated.

The First Author

The original author of the Gītā pays great attention to logical and rational argumentation. His appeal is more intellectual than emotional. His style is also direct and simple. The first Gītā is mainly based on logic, reason and intellect. Its appeal is greater for the elite and the intellectual class. It convinces but does not arouse.

The Second Author

The second author is inclined more towards analysis, classification and details. He is a scholar and is concerned mainly with imparting knowledge as briefly as possible. His style is direct,

brief and simple. He regards all view-points as equally good and therefore does not wax eloquent on any particular point. His appeal is therefore more to reason and rational choice.

The Third Author

The third author is entirely different from the first two. He is not concerned with logical exposition, but straight away proclaims his doctrines and commands his audience to accept them on faith. Whatever topic he touches, is clothed in sentiment, eloquence and forcible diction. Logic, coherence and consistency are subordinated to the indoctrination of the main principles underlying his philosophy. The audience is carried away smoothly along the current of his rhythmic, forcible, sublime and emotional discourse. The logical rational argument of the first author and the scholarly practical treatment of the second are entirely overshadowed by the quantitative mass and qualitative merits of the composition of the third author. Readers should remember that the total number of verses written by the first two authors combined is about one-third, and those by the third author about two-thirds of the whole book. The third author has added 455 verses to the 126 and 119 respectively of the first two authors. He dominates the poem both by quantity and quality, as far as the final impact is concerned.

Conclusion

The first author emphasises Karman rooted in Yoga. The second has explained Jñāna, and the third has emphasised Bhakti to Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. Other topics such as Dhyāna or Abhyāsa for self-realization or God-realization, the importance of Mokṣa and moral perfection are repeated in a number of places. The reader is attracted to the aspect which is akin to his own preference and temperament. He considers that alone to be the ultimate message of the Gītā. This is why even great scholars differ from each other about the central teaching of the poem.

In the previous discussion I have clearly shown that the original central theme of the Gītā is Yoga, a new philosophy developed by the first author, on the basis of Kṛṣṇa's advice to Arjuna on the battlefield. The main difference between Sāṅkhya and Yoga was the renunciation or performance

of Karman, and the original Gītā emphasised Karma-Yoga with a Yogic attitude. The other two authors added relevant material to this original theme in order to show its application to the situations that existed during their own periods. The details or the eloquence bestowed on other topics do not make the other themes the central message of the Gītā. Jñāna, Bhakti, Dhyāna, moral perfection, all are ancillary to Yoga and Karman.

The method of understanding, interpreting and teaching the Gītā needs to be changed in order to heighten its utility for the modern age. The three periods, the three authors, and the three divisions should be clearly kept in view, along with the different societies and audiences to which the discourse was addressed. The meaning and implication of the original Gītā and the later additions will then be clearly understood. It will then be possible to suggest practical applications of the eternal principles to the affairs of our every-day life. The reasons why Yoga, Karman, Jñāna, Bhākti, Dhyāna and other topics were introduced and emphasised in the Gītā should be clearly understood by the reader for a fuller appreciation of the poem. He may then make his choice of one or more of these topics or their combination as the special message of the Gītā as far as he himself is concerned. This is a subjective choice. Objectively speaking, the central message of the poem is nothing else than Yoga and Karman. All other topics are important because they support and reinforce the philosophy of Duty performed with a Yogic attitude.

XVI

Doubts, Difficulties and Contradictions can be Solved

In the first two chapters of this book I have already mentioned the difficulties and contradictions confronting readers of the Gītā and the wide divergence of views that exists among scholars about the message of the poem and its probable date. The conclusions that emerge out of my thesis are able to resolve most of these doubts, difficulties and contradictions in a satisfactory way. It is now possible to make a rational interpretation of the text without distorting, changing or modifying the meaning of words, phrases or verses. I shall try to show in this chapter the practical application and use of my conclusions for resolving difficulties in understanding the text of the poem.

Repetition of Topics

The question is why some topics like Saṁnyāsa, cosmic creation, nature of the Soul and the Highest Soul, Sāṅkhya doctrines etc. are repeated. The answer is that there are three authors who wrote the poem in three different periods. Developments in the fields of metaphysics, cosmology, Vedānta, Sāṅkhya and Pātañjala Yoga are reflected in the Gītā. The succeeding two authors retained the old text and added their own verses to incorporate new developments of the old topics.

Models of Moral Perfection

Descriptions of ideal, perfect persons are given throughout the poem. They are very similar in content and terminology. The Karmayogin in Ch. II, the Jñānayogin in Ch. III, the Saṁnyāsin in Ch. V, the Yogin in Ch. VI, the Bhakta in Ch. XII, the Guṇātīta in Ch. XIV and the Siddha in Ch. XVIII, all are similar in many respects. The third philosopher has introduced

such descriptions in his own section and added some more to the old compositions with the object of placing before the common people moral virtues in concrete form.

Digressions in the Discourse

The digressions in the course of a coherent and logical discussion are due to the fact that the third author has inserted his own ideas at the beginning or end of the chapters and in the middle. Sometimes they are relevant to the context and add to the effect. Sometimes they appear irrelevant and unnecessary.

Saṁnyāsa Epithets

In the descriptions of ideal persons there are many epithets which suggest a preference for Saṁnyāsa. अपरिग्रहः, अनिकेतः, पुत्रदारगृहादिषु अनभिष्वङ्गः, निराशीः, उदासीनः, सर्वारम्भपरित्यागी etc. are epithets which are used in connection with Saṁnyāsa in the later Upaniṣads. This has led some commentators to conclude that the Gītā advocates Saṁnyāsa. The third author has used these epithets to describe Vairāgya, the chief characteristic of an ideal and perfect individual. They show the influence of the Saṁnyāsa tradition during his own period.

Change in Terminology

An abrupt change in the terminology used in the discussion of a particular topic occurs because the interpolator continued the same topic but used a terminology that was current during his period. The diversity of authors and their views is also another reason for such a change. Still another reason is the gradual advance in concepts and their corresponding terminology.

Different Connotation of the Same Words

Some words like ब्रह्मन्, प्रकृति, पुरुष, अव्यक्त, etc. have different meanings in different contexts. The reason is that the three authors attached to these words the connotation that was current during their own periods. The content of words in philosophy sometimes changes in course of time.

Unanswered Questions

The questions about कुलधर्म, कुलक्षय, कुलस्त्रियः, अधर्माभिभव, जातिधर्म

and वर्णसंकर etc. in Ch. I remain unanswered. From the nature of the words they definitely belong to the third period, when the concept of Dharma in every form was dominant. There is no direct answer, but the indirect answer is that the observance of one's own duties is the best way to protect Dharma. वर्णसंकर or social disintegration occurs when persons disregard their assigned work in society. All the same, there is no direct answer to the questions of Arjuna.

Contradictions in Statements

Since there are three authors for the Gītā, some diversity in their viewpoints and statements is bound to exist. The additions and interpolations are made without substantially changing the previous texts. Therefore, views and statements made by the three authors in their own sections exist side by side. The nature of diversity in this respect has been discussed at length in Ch. IX. The best way to resolve the contradictions is to assign the different views to their own authors, and admit that in some respects they differed. There is agreement on fundamental points and divergence on minor ones.

Diversity in the Ultimate Goals

Liberation from the cycle of life and death and freedom from the consequences of action are the ends of life for all the three stages. The ultimate identity with the Universal Soul is expressed in different terms such as ब्रह्मभूत, ब्रह्मसंस्पर्श, ब्रह्म गच्छति, मामेति, मम परमं धाम, मामुपेत्य etc. The diversity is due to three writers and three periods.

Synonyms for Soul

Different expressions are used by the three authors to indicate the principle of Soul such as सः, शरीरिन्, देहिन् by the first; देहिन्, पुरुष, क्षेत्रिन् by the second; and आत्मन् by the third author. This probably indicates a gradual evolution of words, fixation of their meaning and their currency in literature.

Categories of Men

The second and the third authors follow different methods of categorising human beings. The second has three divisions

based on सत्त्व, रजस् and तमस्, the sublime, the material and the debased; but the third one has only two categories, दैवी and आसुरी, the divine and the demonic. The second would tolerate a middle course, but the third would recognize only the good and the bad, without any intermediate class. These are the result of differences in the temperaments and outlooks of the authors.

Order of Verses and Chapters

The change in the arrangement of verses in Ch. XIII and XVIII was probably made by the third author. He has changed the sequence of the chapters also.

The First and Third Personal Pronouns

One of the principal interlocutors is Kṛṣṇa. In the first two stages he refers to the Supreme Being in the third person. In the third stage Kṛṣṇa himself is the incarnation of the Divine Spirit, asking for sincere devotion from men; therefore, he has to use the first person singular to indicate that he himself is the Supreme Being.

Surrender Unto Me

The various references to Vāsudeva and Puruṣottama and the human form of Kṛṣṇa described in Ch. XI indicate that Kṛṣṇa and Vāsudeva are identical. The third stage Gītā is intended to advocate the worship of Kṛṣṇa with devotion as the easiest way to salvation for the common people.

The Battlefield and the Gītā

How much of the dialogue took place on the battlefield and which of the verses came from the lips of Kṛṣṇa is a very controversial issue, difficult to resolve. My own opinion is that the conversation in the second chapter of the Original Gītā took place in prose on the battlefield. It was handed down through oral tradition. The first author expanded it into six chapters, the second into twelve and the third into eighteen, to amplify, apply and elucidate the same message according to the needs of their own times.

The Message of the Gītā

The central idea in the Gītā is Karman rooted in Yoga, action with a balanced mind, unselfish motive, and preparedness for all consequences, good or bad. This is strengthened by the other two authors. The content of 'Karman' differs for the three stages of the poem. In order to give an all-round complete philosophy, ancillary doctrines are associated with Karman, Jñāna and Dhyāna by the first two authors and Jñāna, Dhyāna and Bhakti by the third author. Without Yoga and Karman, none of the other three doctrines would stand. With Karman and Yoga, all can be associated as ancillary, supporting and purifying agents.

Original and Mixed Chapters

The third author has inserted interpolations in the twelve chapters of the first two poets; therefore, they are mixed. The entire six chapters of the third poet who came last are his own, original and unmixed.

Why Scholars Differ

This dissertation is an attempt to resolve some of the problems and difficulties with which I was confronted when I sat down to explain and interpret to myself the text of the Gītā. The conclusions of my thesis will, I hope, be able to solve the other problems with which scholars are faced with regard to the arrangement, authorship and the date of the poem. As shown in Ch. II, on all these three points there is a wide divergence of views. It is now possible to account for, explain and reduce this divergence, on the basis of a plurality of authorship and dates of the poem.

The Arrangement of the Gītā

A majority of Indian scholars hold that the Gītā has been handed down to us in the original form. On the contrary, a few Indian and a number of Western scholars are convinced that the tract has been revised and edited by a number of later writers. German scholars have taken the lead in substantiating this viewpoint, and in attempting to isolate the original Gita.

Some scholars honestly believe in the unity of the Gītā, because the third author, while revising the poem from beginning to end, took care to see that some kind of unity was maintained. Interpolations were made in such a way that they would appear as an organic part of the original composition. The second author made no interpolations, but added his chapters to the original poem in such a way that they appeared to be a natural continuation of the first stage. The unconscious reluctance to question the authenticity of the text of the Divine Message was another reason behind the conviction about the originality of the poem.

In spite of the attempt to unify the various parts of the Gītā, the retention of the original portion discloses the diversity in style, diction, viewpoints, audience, concepts, purposes and problems. These are inevitably reflected in the composition of each author. They create doubts concerning the originality of some portions of the poem.

The reasons for the two points of view and the way of resolving the differences are indicated in this essay.

The Ultimate Message

The wide divergence of views among critics about the ultimate message of the Gītā confounds the ordinary reader who, by his single efforts, is unable to decide about it. He implicitly relies on some one commentator and becomes his follower. Thus the Gītā has been interpreted in different ways, which has given birth to various schools of interpretation. The modern scholars have only added a few more such schools to the old ones.

Although the central theme of the Gītā is common to all the three authors, they have associated that theme with several other doctrines for which they had special preference. The emphasis placed by the three authors on the various doctrines is also different. The first author strongly emphasises Karma-Yoga; the second one introduces all the details of Saṅkhya knowledge, and the third modifies that knowledge on Vedāntic lines and powerfully advocates Bhakti towards a personal God. All three advocate the Dhyāna-Mārga for the ultimate realization of God. Thus the emphasis is on all relevant topics in some place or other. The particular problems and needs of the periods in which the

poem was written, and revised, also necessitated an emphasis on some doctrines. Thus there is sufficient justification for every commentator to assert that a particular doctrine is the central teaching of the Gītā. Sufficient evidence can be found for advocating different messages as the central teaching of the poem.

The Date of the Poem

The date of the Gītā is an equally controversial issue. All are agreed that it was composed several years after the battle was fought between the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Paṇḍu. Some scholars consider the poem to have originated as early as 1500 B. C., while there are others who consider it a product of about A. D. 200. Those who are impressed by the older portions consider it to be very ancient, while those who recognise the later style and diction of the poem consider it to be of a later date. When only one author and a single date is taken for granted, difference of views is bound to arise. On the contrary, if the poem is considered in terms of three divisions, three authors and three periods, the controversy about the date can be reasonably resolved. The original portion is old, the second stage of the Gītā is of a later date and the third stage is of a still later period. The Gītā belongs to, not one, but three consecutive dates, separated from each other by one or more centuries.

* * *

Scholars who have studied and written about the Gītā may have differed amongst themselves widely and vehemently. All the same it must be acknowledged with a sense of full gratitude to them, that they have kept alive and passed on to succeeding generations, a love and veneration for and interest in the poem. It is the duty of this generation to use the modern tools of scholarship and research to enable readers to attain a better understanding of the message of the Divine Song and to translate it into daily life. Problems of authorship, construction and dates are not important in themselves. Their solution should lead to a better understanding of the eternal ideas in the poem. This is the main objective of my humble efforts.

XVII

The Gītā and the Modern Age

The Purpose of This Investigation

The Gītā has been a valuable guide to me in crucial moments and in the day-to-day affairs of life. I am anxious that the coming generation also should be familiar with its teachings. Every generation has its own mental and material background. The Gītā needs to be interpreted in the light of the peculiar needs, interests and understandings of each generation. I started to write a general book familiarising modern readers with the valuable ideas in the Gītā. I found that my own understanding of the poem was unsatisfactory. I had my doubts and difficulties for a number of years. When I referred to the works of other scholars, I found that they had also come across the same, but they found out their solutions. To me, some of these were not satisfactory. So I sat down for an intensive textual study of the poem, to find out for myself from a first-hand study, the solutions to my problems.

I did not start with the object of proving any particular theory. I was interested in understanding correctly, from the text, what the Gītā had to say. This was necessary for a satisfactory interpretation of the whole book. It was not my intention to prove that the poem was written by three authors. This conclusion emerged from my analytical investigation. Then I found that certain textual difficulties and contradictions could be resolved only on the assumption of multiple authorship. It was my duty, I felt, to publish my findings for the benefit of others who, like myself, might be groping for the solution of their doubts. Far be it from me to disturb the faith of people in the sacredness and authority of the Gītā. My own reverence and faith in that Book is not diminished in the least after my investigation. On the

contrary, my appreciation for the genius, foresight and the progressive attitude of the three authors has been enhanced. I am able to understand the poem better than before. I believe my investigation will contribute to a better understanding and correct interpretation of the Song. This will automatically lead to an appreciation of its teachings and their application to every-day life. I shall, therefore, repudiate with vehemence any charge of iconoclasticism that may be made against me and this investigation. I am a believer in the Gītā, who has humbly endeavoured to spread its message and who wants to keep on doing the same to the end of his life.

The Role of Kṛṣṇa

According to the vulgate which has come down to us, the dialogue took place between Bhagawan Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna on the battlefield. There are people who sincerely believe that the words ascribed to Kṛṣṇa are genuinely those which came straight from the lips of the Lord. There are others who hold that Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana Vyāsa wove into versified form the substance of the dialogue and that these verses have come down to us in their original form.

I shall not try to question any of the above positions, because they are a part of the faith of some people. My purpose is not to disturb that faith but to facilitate understanding of the poem. But, personally, it would be difficult for me to take up and defend that position after all the analytical investigation through which I have gone. Reliable scholars, both Indian and foreign, are agreed that several centuries elapsed between the actual incident of the battlefield dialogue and the composition in versified form of the Mahābhārata and the Gītā. Some commentators, however, assert that the Original Gīta as composed by Vyāsa immediately after the war is included in the Mahābhārata.

The Gītā is supposed to be, and actually is, an essence of all the ancient Upaniṣads. Many of these sacred works did not exist at the time of the great war. How is it possible for Kṛṣṇa or Vyāsa to give verbatim quotations and concepts from all the old Upaniṣads which did not exist at the time of the war? It is therefore difficult to defend the position that the whole of the Gītā in any form came into existence immediately after the War.

I have shown in the course of my discussion, that the text of the Gītā reflects the social, religious and ideological conditions that existed during later periods after the War. Therefore, it could not have been written earlier than the period in which the different concepts and conditions came into being. I shall, therefore, take up a position which I can reasonably defend. I do not force it on others.

It is a fact that Arjuna was faced with a serious dilemma on the battlefield : "To fight or not to fight." Kṛṣṇa convinced him about the need to do his duty with a serene and equipoised mind, with a readiness to face any consequences, with his mind fixed in Yoga. This incident and the arguments of both were handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. It may have been woven by contemporary people into many forms; ballads, stories, anecdotes, plays, sermons and similar other popular forms through which ancient wisdom generally flows to succeeding generations. All this material must have been utilised by the author or authors of the Gītā as the central theme around which they built the larger edifice of the poem. In ancient times wisdom was handed to succeeding ages by word of mouth, until the art of writing was developed and utilised for the preservation of knowledge. Oral transmission was the principal method of propagating learning. In the case of the Gītā, the central theme and the general substance must have been based on the actual dialogue between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna and the teachings of the Lord, but the expansion of the theme in the form of a coherent consistent philosophy, with ancillary doctrines, and their application to the contemporary situations, must have been done by the later authors. It is, therefore, not heretical on the part of any critic to discuss the merits and qualities of the compositions and the views of the writers who developed the poem. It is in keeping with the philosophy of discrimination, Buddhi-Yoga, taught by Lord Kṛṣṇa.

It is generally accepted that the Māhābharata of which the Gītā is a part, has passed through the hands of Vyāsa, Vaiśampāyana and Souti Ugraśravā. But the triple authorship is still supposed to be a tradition and research on the matter is incomplete. Therefore, I have desisted from naming the three authors of the Gītā as Vyāsa, Vaiśampāyana and Souti. I

have simply designated them as first, second and third authors. The uncertainty about the authorship of the three stages of the epic is bound to affect the question of the authorship of the Gītā also. In this investigation I could prove the sequence and plurality of the authors but not their identity. I have only asserted that which could be proved on the evidence of the text.

The New Generation of Readers

The audience for the Gītā changes from generation to generation. Readers of the past generation approached the Gītā with a sentiment of implicit faith, devotion, piety, reverence, humility and unquestioning acceptance. They believed that it was the Word of God, the Divine Message, a Revelation, a Holy Scripture, to be heard, read, revered, worshipped; if possible, to be understood, but without questioning its authenticity. If any contradictions or diversities were detected, they were to be reconciled or passed over.

The new generation of readers is different. It belongs to an age in which logic, reason, objectivity, experimentation, conviction, and intellectual courage dominate. It will accept only that about which it is convinced and satisfied. Nothing will be taken on faith. This generation is like Arjuna who did not hesitate to question even his Divine teacher Kṛṣṇa. "You appear to mislead me by equivocal and contradictory statements. Explain positively and directly." (Ch. III 2). When Kṛṣṇa states that he is the eternal God who taught his philosophy to the earliest ancestors, Arjuna asks, "Vivaswān lived centuries ago; you are living now. How on earth is it possible that you taught this Yoga to Vivaswān ? It is unbelievable." (IV 4). Such a bold and questioning attitude on the part of Arjuna elicited an eternal philosophy. Even Kṛṣṇa visualises two types of listeners and readers, those who just listen with faith, and those who study critically and with discrimination. श्रद्धाननसूयश्च श्रुणुयादपि यो नरः । is one category, and अध्येष्यते च य इमं धर्म्यं संवादमावयोः । ज्ञानयज्ञेन तेनाहमिष्टः स्यामिति मे मतिः ॥ (XVIII 70, 71) the other. The new generation of readers belongs to the second category of critical students. They are like Arjuna, who would like satisfactory explanations of contradictory, equivocal and incredible statements. If the Gītā is explained in a satisfactory

and rational way, explaining, resolving or accounting for the contradictions and diversities, the new generation would accept it, follow it, and pass it on to posterity. I am anxious to hand over the Gītā to this generation in a form which would satisfy their questioning, logical, rational and objective attitudes towards ideas, old or new. Even mysticism and supernatural phenomena need a satisfying explanation. They are being tested with modern tools of research.

The older generation of faith is already an admirer of the Gītā; I am anxious to maintain their continuity with posterity.

An Eternal Guide

The significance and value of the Gītā does not diminish in the least owing to the disclosure of interpolations. On the contrary, it enhances the greatness of the poem. The interpolations are not a wanton whimsical literary exercise. They have a reason and a justification. They have kept the Gītā alive and handed it over to our generation. They have shown that the past philosophers were admirers of progress and rational change. They believed that philosophy must be useful for contemporary life. It must resolve the contradictions and diversities in society and bring about a reconciliation and unification. Philosophy is dynamic, not static. It is perfected by the accretions of new concepts and new thinking. The three authors of the poem were not smug, self-satisfied, static, orthodox persons. They grappled with their ideological problems, examined old ideas and suggested new creative syntheses. Constructive questioning and all-embracing synthesising were the main characteristics of their compositions. The first author questioned the utility of the then existing dominant Sāṅkhya philosophy and created a new synthesis of Yoga and Karman. The second author suggested practical applications of Yoga and added up-to-date concepts in metaphysics and cosmology. The third author too did not hand down the Gītā as it came to him. Again he re-examined it, assessed its deficiencies, and completely revised it, in order to meet the spiritual, religious and moral needs of the people. He did not hesitate to modify the old concepts and to introduce new ones on the basis of available contemporary ideas. Thus the three stages of the Gītā show that a philosophy of life

is not something static. Every generation has to examine old ideas, modify them, add to them, suggest their use and thus create a new synthesis. This is what the three authors did. They did not rest satisfied with the ancestral bequest of ideas. They added to it, enriched it, renovated it. Every one gave some new synthesis to his own age.

To me this is the message of my investigation. The three authors were progressive and dynamic. They have set us an example: Do not rest satisfied with what you have received from the past. Add to it, modify it, modernise it, make it more practicable, suggest new applications; hand it over to the next generation in a revised, enriched and modernised form. Create your own synthesis of ideas by a combination of the old and the new. Allow the next generation to do the same. In this way alone a society remains intellectually alive and enriches its heritage by accretion. Do not mark time, march ahead. ततो युद्धाय युज्यस्व । Face the battle of life.

The abiding value of the Gītā arises out of the progressive but inclusive, tolerant, synthetic and reconciliatory attitudes of the three authors. It therefore appeals to all types of termperaments. Even atheists can learn something from this book; it is useful to them; it is not barred to them; its reasoning will appeal to them. The popularity of the poem in India and abroad is due to its appeal to diverse approaches. A student of the poem should be able to explain to himself and to others how and why the diverse concepts came to be included in the Gītā. It will then be possible for every one to receive from its teachings, concepts and ideas in keeping with his needs, temperament and his view-points; and to add his own thinking to it and create an individual philosophy. As with the individual, every age and every society has to take from the past, add its own thinking to it and create a new synthesis. The need to understand the past, add new ideas to it and create new combinations was felt by the authors of the Gītā. We must realise this, add our own new ideas to the old heritage and then pass on the bequest to the future. If we do not observe this rule, the authors of the Gītā, if they come to life again, will ask, "Didn't you make any progress after that ?"

Conclusions On Trial

The major findings of this investigation are that the Gītā was composed by three different authors, during three different periods, for different types and needs of audiences. The evidence on which my thesis is based is given in the Appendices in the form of various tools of research, analyses, classifications, tables and lists. Any reader can use these tools, improve them, add to them and verify the soundness of the conclusions. With regard to the actual division of the verses, it may be possible to make slight changes to the tune of three to four per cent at the most.

These conclusions and the three divisions of the Gītā will enable readers to understand the poem and grasp its significance better than the old method of reading the verses continuously. I have been a student of the poem since 1920; I, therefore, make this statement on the strength of my own experience. After the three divisions emerged, I was myself able to follow and interpret the verses and the arguments better than before. I am perfectly humble and open to correction. Ultimately, the value of my conclusions lies in its acceptance by reputed scholars and scrupulous students. I look at this subject from a purely impersonal and objective point of view. Truth is truth, no doubt, but its value is enhanced by its being acceptable and accepted.

Three Probable Reactions

I can imagine and anticipate the reactions of different types of readers to my conclusions. The first category of readers believes that Bhagwān Kṛṣṇa himself recounted the whole poem in the versified form or in prose and Vyāsa merely copied it or rendered it into verse. Vaiśampāyana, Souti or any other author has absolutely no hand in the Gītā. The whole dialogue, in verse or prose, did take place on the battlefield between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna. These readers will reject my thesis and will attack me violently for my alleged heresy. I have respect for the honest convictions of this class, which it is not my intention to disturb.

The other category consists of readers and scholars who came across the same problems which confused me. But by the aid of commentaries, translations and their own efforts, they were able to satisfy themselves. The contradictions and diversity of

views are reconciled and they have mentally adjusted themselves to these. The majority of readers in this class will either connive at my conclusions or will try to refute them. I shall be sorry for the indifference but shall welcome the acceptable part from their criticisms.

Even for the first two categories of readers I have a suggestion and appeal. I shall respect their belief that Kṛṣṇa and Vyāsa alone are the authors of the Gītā. I am not so much interested in establishing the thesis of three authors as in a satisfactory interpretation. They may disregard and forget my idea of triple authorship, but utilise the three divisions of the poem for the sake of simplifying and facilitating interpretation. They will certainly find the exercise amply rewarding. As for myself, I respect the three authors as much as Kṛṣṇa. ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां हृद्देशेऽर्जुन तिष्ठति । (XVIII 61) Kṛṣṇa was in their hearts and they spoke the word of Kṛṣṇa. The message and teachings are as important as Kṛṣṇa.

The third category is that of critical readers and scholars, who, in spite of the explanations of commentators, have a sort of uneasy feeling about certain spots, a sense of incongruity, inconsistency and contradictions about certain passages. These will find my approach helpful in resolving their doubts and difficulties. Their sense of logic, reasoning and unity will have full scope and satisfaction while interpreting the Gītā in the light of my findings. These people are the future interpreters of the poem. Through their efforts the new generation will learn to understand, interpret, appreciate and disseminate the message of the Gītā.

TRIKĀLA GĪTĀ

FIRST STAGE — RED

SECOND STAGE — BLUE

THIRD STAGE — BLACK

TRIKĀLA GĪTĀ

त्रि-काल-भगवद्गीता।

First Author : Red *Second Author : Blue* *Third Author : Black*

१. अर्जुनविषादयोगः

धृतराष्ट्र—धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ।
मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैव किमकुर्वत संजय ॥१
संजय—दृष्ट्वा तु पाण्डवानीकं व्यूढं दुर्योधनस्तदा ।
आचार्यमुपसंगम्य राजा वचनमब्रवीत् ॥२
पश्यैतां पाण्डुपुत्राणामाचार्य महतीं चमूम् ।
व्यूढां द्रुपदपुत्रेण तव शिष्येण धीमता ॥३
अत्र शूरा महेष्वासा भीमार्जुनसमा युधि ।
युयुधानो विराटश्च द्रुपदश्च महारथः ॥४
धृष्टकेतुश्चेकितानः काशिराजश्च वीर्यवान् ।
पुरुजित्कुन्तिभोजश्च शैब्यश्च नरपुंगवः ॥५
युधामन्युश्च विक्रान्त उत्तमौजाश्च वीर्यवान् ।
सौभद्रो द्रौपदेयाश्च सर्व एव महारथाः ॥६
अस्माकं तु विशिष्टा ये तान् निबोध द्विजोत्तम ।
नायका मम सैन्यस्य संज्ञार्थं तान् ब्रवीमि ते ॥७
भवान् भीष्मश्च कर्णश्च कृपश्च समितिंजयः ।
अश्वत्थामा विकर्णश्च सौमदत्तिस्तथैव च ॥८
अन्ये च बहवः शूरा मदर्थे त्यक्तजीविताः ।
नानाशस्त्रप्रहरणाः सर्वे युद्धविशारदाः ॥९॥
अपर्याप्तं तदस्माकं बलं भीष्माभिरक्षितम् ।
पर्याप्तं त्विदमेतेषां बलं भीमाभिरक्षितम् ॥१०
अयनेषु च सर्वेषु यथाभागमवस्थिताः ।
भीष्ममेवाभिरक्षन्तु भवन्तः सर्व एव हि ॥११
तस्य संजनयन् हर्षं कुरुवृद्धः पितामहः ।
सिंहनादं विनद्योच्चैः शङ्खं दध्मौ प्रतापवान् ॥१२
ततः शङ्खाश्च भेर्यश्च पणवानकगोमुखाः ।
सहसैवाभ्यहन्यन्त स शब्दस्तुमुलोऽभवत् ॥१३
ततः श्वेतैर्हयैर्युक्ते महति स्यन्दने स्थितौ ।
माधवः पाण्डवश्चैव दिव्यौ शङ्खौ प्रदध्मतुः ॥१४
पाञ्चजन्यं हृषीकेशो देवदत्तं धनंजयः ।
पौण्ड्रं दध्मौ महाशङ्खं भीमकर्मा वृकोदरः ॥१५

अनन्तविजयं राजा कुन्तीपुत्रो युधिष्ठिरः ।
नकुलः सहदेवश्च सुघोषमणिपुष्पकौ ॥१६
काश्यश्च परमेष्वासः शिखण्डी च महारथः ।
धृष्टद्युम्नो विराटश्च सात्यकिश्चापराजितः ॥१७
द्रुपदो द्रौपदेयाश्च सर्वशः पृथिवीपते ।
सौभद्रश्च महाबाहुः शङ्खान् दध्मुः पृथक् पृथक् ॥१८
स घोषो धार्तराष्ट्राणां हृदयानि व्यदारयत् ।
नभश्च पृथिवीं चैव तुमुलो व्यनुनादयन् ॥१९
अथ व्यवस्थितान् दृष्ट्वा धार्तराष्ट्रान् कपिध्वजः ।
प्रवृत्ते शस्त्रसंपाते धनुरुद्यम्य पांडवः ॥२०
हृषीकेशं तदा वाक्यमिदमाह महीपते ।
अर्जुन उवाच सेनयोरुभयोर्मध्ये रथं स्थापय मेऽच्युत ॥२१
यावदेतान् निरीक्षेऽहं योद्धुकामानवस्थितान् ।
कैर्मया सह योद्धव्यमस्मिन् रणसमुद्यमे ॥२२
योत्स्यमानानवेक्षेऽहं य एतेऽत्र समागताः ।
धार्तराष्ट्रस्य दुर्बुद्धेर्युद्धे प्रियचिकीर्षवः ॥ २३
सञ्जय उवाच एवमुक्तो हृषीकेशो गुडाकेशेन भारत ।
सेनयोरुभयोर्मध्ये स्थापयित्वा रथोत्तमम् ॥२४
भीष्मद्रोणप्रमुखतः सर्वेषां च महीक्षिताम् ।
उवाच पार्थ पश्यैतान् समवेतान् कुरूनिति ॥२५
तत्रापश्यत् स्थितान् पार्थः पितॄनथ पितामहान् ।
आचार्यान् मातुलान् भ्रातॄन् पुत्रान् पौत्रान् सखींस्तथा ॥२६
श्वशुरान् सुहृदश्चैव सेनयोरुभयोरपि ।
तान् समीक्ष्य स कौन्तेयः सर्वान् बन्धूनवस्थितान् ॥२७
कृपया परयाविष्टो विषीदन्निदमब्रवीत् ।
अर्जुन—दृष्ट्वेमं स्वजनं कृष्ण युयुत्सुं समुपस्थितम् ॥२८
सीदन्ति मम गात्राणि मुखं च परिशुष्यति ।
वेपथुश्च शरीरे मे रोमहर्षश्च जायते ॥२९
गाण्डीवं स्रंसते हस्तात् त्वक् चैव परिदह्यते ।
न च शक्नोम्यवस्थातुं भ्रमतीव च मे मनः ॥३०
निमित्तानि च पश्यामि विपरीतानि केशव ।
न च श्रेयोऽनुपश्यामि हत्वा स्वजनमाहवे ॥३१
न काङ्क्षे विजयं कृष्ण न च राज्यं सुखानि च ।
किं नो राज्येन गोविन्द किं भोगैर्जीवितेन वा ॥३२
येषामर्थे काङ्क्षितं नो राज्यं भोगाः सुखानि च ।
त इमेऽवस्थिता युद्धे प्राणांस्त्यक्त्वा धनानि च ॥३३
आचार्याः पितरः पुत्रास्तथैव च पितामहाः ।
मातुलाः श्वशुराः पौत्राः श्यालाः संबन्धिनस्तथा ॥३४
एतान् न हन्तुमिच्छामि घ्नतोऽपि मधुसूदन ।
अपि त्रैलोक्यराज्यस्य हेतोः किं नु महीकृते ॥३५
निहत्य धार्तराष्ट्रान् नः का प्रीतिः स्याज्जनार्दन ।
पापमेवाश्रयेदस्मान् हत्वैतानाततायिनः ॥३६
तस्मान्नार्हा वयं हन्तुं धार्तराष्ट्रान् स्वबान्धवान् ।
स्वजनं हि कथं हत्वा सुखिनः स्याम माधव ॥३७

यद्यप्येते न पश्यन्ति लोभोपहतचेतसः ।
कुलक्षयकृतं दोषं मित्रद्रोहे च पातकम् ॥३८
कथं न ज्ञेयमस्माभिः पापादस्मान्निवर्तितुम् ।
कुलक्षयकृतं दोषं प्रपश्यद्भिर्जनार्दन ॥३९
कुलक्षये प्रणश्यन्ति कुलधर्माः सनातनाः ।
धर्मे नष्टे कुलं कृत्स्नमधर्मोऽभिभवत्युत ॥४०
अधर्माभिभवात् कृष्ण प्रदुष्यन्ति कुलस्त्रियः ।
स्त्रीषु दुष्टासु वार्ष्णेय जायते वर्णसंकरः ॥४१
संकरो नरकायैव कुलघ्नानां कुलस्य च ।
पतन्ति पितरो ह्येषां लुप्तपिण्डोदकक्रियाः ॥४२
दोषैरेतैः कुलघ्नानां वर्णसंकरकारकैः ।
उत्साद्यन्ते जातिधर्माः कुलधर्माश्च शाश्वताः ॥४३
उत्सन्नकुलधर्माणां मनुष्याणां जनार्दन ।
नरके नियतं वासो भवतीत्यनुशुश्रुम ॥४४
अहो बत महत् पापं कर्तुं व्यवसिता वयम् ।
यद्राज्यसुखलोभेन हन्तुं स्वजनमुद्यताः ॥४५
यदि मामप्रतीकारमशस्त्रं शस्त्रपाणयः ।
धार्तराष्ट्रा रणे हन्युस्तन्मे क्षेमतरं भवेत् ॥४६
संजय—एवमुक्त्वार्जुनः संख्ये रथोपस्थ उपाविशत् ।
विसृज्य सशरं चापं शोकसंविग्नमानसः ॥४७

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२. सांख्ययोगः

संजय—तं तथा कृपयाविष्टमश्रुपूर्णाकुलेक्षणम् ।
विषीदन्तमिदं वाक्यमुवाच मधुसूदनः ॥१
श्रीभगवान्—कुतस्त्वा कश्मलमिदं विषमे समुपस्थितम् ।
अनार्यजुष्टमस्वर्ग्यमकीर्तिकरमर्जुन ॥२
क्लैब्यं मा स्म गमः पार्थ नैतत् त्वय्युपपद्यते ।
क्षुद्रं हृदयदौर्बल्यं त्यक्त्वोत्तिष्ठ परंतप ॥३
अर्जुन—कथं भीष्ममहं संख्ये द्रोणं च मधुसूदन ।
इषुभिः प्रतियोत्स्यामि पूजार्हावरिसूदन ॥४
गुरूनहत्वा हि महानुभावान् श्रेयो भोक्तुं भैक्ष्यमपीह लोके ।
हत्वार्थकामांस्तु गुरूनिहैव भुञ्जीय भोगान् रुधिरप्रदिग्धान् ॥
न चैतद्विद्मः कतरन्नो गरीयो यद्वा जयेम यदि वा नो जयेयुः ।
यानेव हत्वा न जिजीविषामस्तेऽवस्थिताः प्रमुखे धार्तराष्ट्राः ॥
कार्पण्यदोषोपहतस्वभावः पृच्छामि त्वां धर्मसंमूढचेताः ।
यच्छ्रेयः स्यान्निश्चितं ब्रूहि तन्मे शिष्यस्तेऽहं शाधि मां त्वां प्रपन्नम् ॥
न हि प्रपश्यामि ममापनुद्याद्यच्छोकमुच्छोषणमिन्द्रियाणाम् ।
अवाप्य भूमावसपत्नमृद्धं राज्यं सुराणामपि चाधिपत्यम् ॥८
संजय—एवमुक्त्वा हृषीकेशं गुडाकेशः परंतपः ।
न योत्स्य इति गोविन्दमुक्त्वा तूष्णीं बभूव ह ॥९
तमुवाच हृषीकेशः प्रहसन्निव भारत ।
सेनयोरुभयोर्मध्ये विषीदन्तमिदं वचः ॥१०

श्रीभगवान् अशोच्यानन्वशोचस्त्वं प्रज्ञावादांश्च भाषसे ।
गतासूनगतासूंश्च नानुशोचन्ति पण्डिताः ॥११
न त्वेवाहं जातु नासं न त्वं नेमे जनाधिपाः ।
न चैव न भविष्यामः सर्वे वयमतः परम् ॥१२
देहिनोऽस्मिन् यथा देहे कौमारं यौवनं जरा ।
तथा देहान्तरप्राप्तिर्धीरस्तत्र न मुह्यति ॥१३

मात्रास्पर्शास्तु कौन्तेय शीतोष्णसुखदुःखदाः ।
आगमापायिनोऽनित्यास्तांस्तितिक्षस्व भारत ॥१४
यं हि न व्यथयन्त्येते पुरुषं पुरुषर्षभ ।
समदुःखसुखं धीरं सोऽमृतत्वाय कल्पते ॥१५
नासतो विद्यते भावो नाभावो विद्यते सतः ।
उभयोरपि दृष्टोऽन्तस्त्वनयोस्तत्त्वदर्शिभिः ॥१६
अविनाशि तु तद्विद्धि येन सर्वमिदं ततम् ।
विनाशमव्ययस्यास्य न कश्चित् कर्तुमर्हति ॥१७
अन्तवन्त इमे देहा नित्यस्योक्ताः शरीरिणः ।
अनाशिनोऽप्रमेयस्य तस्माद्युध्यस्व भारत ॥१८
य एनं वेत्ति हन्तारं यश्चैनं मन्यते हतम् ।
उभौ तौ न विजानीतो नायं हन्ति न हन्यते ॥१९
न जायते म्रियते वा कदाचिन्नायं भूत्वा भविता वा न भूयः ।
अजो नित्यः शाश्वतोऽयं पुराणो न हन्यते हन्यमाने शरीरे ॥
वेदाविनाशिनं नित्यं य एनमजमव्ययम् ।
कथं स पुरुषः पार्थ कं घातयति हन्ति कम् ॥२१

वासांसि जीर्णानि यथा विहाय नवानि गृह्णाति नरोऽपराणि ।
तथा शरीराणि विहाय जीर्णान्यन्यानि संयाति नवानि देही ।
नैनं छिन्दन्ति शस्त्राणि नैनं दहति पावकः ।
न चैनं क्लेदयन्त्यापो न शोषयति मारुतः ॥२३
अच्छेद्योऽयमदाह्योऽयमक्लेद्योऽशोष्य एव च ।
नित्यः सर्वगतः स्थाणुरचलोऽयं सनातनः ॥२४
अव्यक्तोऽयमचिन्त्योऽयमविकार्योऽयमुच्यते ।
तस्मादेवं विदित्वैनं नानुशोचितुमर्हसि ॥२५
अथ चैनं नित्यजातं नित्यं वा मन्यसे मृतम् ॥
तथापि त्वं महाबाहो नैनं शोचितुमर्हसि ॥२६
जातस्य हि ध्रुवो मृत्युर्ध्रुवं जन्म मृतस्य च ।
तस्मादपरिहार्येऽर्थे न त्वं शोचितुमर्हसि ॥२७
अव्यक्तादीनि भूतानि व्यक्तमध्यानि भारत ।
अव्यक्तनिधनान्येव तत्र का परिदेवना ॥२८
आश्चर्यवत् पश्यति कश्चिदेनमाश्चर्यवद्वदति तथैव चान्यः ।
आश्चर्यवच्चैनमन्यः शृणोति श्रुत्वाप्येनं वेद न चैव कश्चित् ॥
देही नित्यमवध्योऽयं देहे सर्वस्य भारत ।
तस्मात् सर्वाणि भूतानि न त्वं शोचितुमर्हसि ॥३०

स्वधर्ममपि चावेक्ष्य न विकम्पितुमर्हसि ।
धर्म्याद्धि युद्धाच्छ्रेयोऽन्यत् क्षत्रियस्य न विद्यते ॥३१
यदृच्छया चोपपन्नं स्वर्गद्वारमपावृतम् ।
सुखिनः क्षत्रियाः पार्थ लभन्ते युद्धमीदृशम् ॥३२

अथ चेत् त्वमिमं धर्म्यं संग्रामं न करिष्यसि ।
ततः स्वधर्मं कीर्तिं च हित्वा पापमवाप्स्यसि ॥३३
अकीर्तिं चापि भूतानि कथयिष्यन्ति तेऽव्ययाम् ।
संभावितस्य चाकीर्तिर्मरणादतिरिच्यते ॥३४
भयाद्रणादुपरतं मंस्यन्ते त्वां महारथाः ।
येषां च त्वं बहुमतो भूत्वा यास्यसि लाघवम् ॥३५
अवाच्यवादांश्च बहून् वदिष्यन्ति तवाहिताः ।
निन्दन्तस्तव सामर्थ्यं ततो दुःखतरं नु किम् ॥३६
हतो वा प्राप्स्यसि स्वर्गं जित्वा वा भोक्ष्यसे महीम् ।
तस्मादुत्तिष्ठ कौन्तेय युद्धाय कृतनिश्चयः ॥३७
सुखदुःखे समे कृत्वा लाभालाभौ जयाजयौ ।
ततो युद्धाय युज्यस्व नैवं पापमवाप्स्यसि ॥३८

एषा तेऽभिहिता सांख्ये बुद्धिर्योगे त्विमां शृणु ।
बुद्ध्या युक्तो यया पार्थ कर्मबन्धं प्रहास्यसि ॥३९
नेहाभिक्रमनाशोऽस्ति प्रत्यवायो न विद्यते ।
स्वल्पमप्यस्य धर्मस्य त्रायते महतो भयात् ॥४०
व्यवसायात्मिका बुद्धिरेकेह कुरुनन्दन ।
बहुशाखा ह्यनन्ताश्च बुद्धयोऽव्यवसायिनाम् ॥४१
यामिमां पुष्पितां वाचं प्रवदन्त्यविपश्चितः ।
वेदवादरताः पार्थ नान्यदस्तीति वादिनः ॥४२
कामात्मानः स्वर्गपरा जन्मकर्मफलप्रदाम् ।
क्रियाविशेषबहुलां भोगैश्वर्यगतिं प्रति ॥४३
भोगैश्वर्यप्रसक्तानां तयापहृतचेतसाम् ।
व्यवसायात्मिका बुद्धिः समाधौ न विधीयते ॥४४
त्रैगुण्यविषया वेदा निस्त्रैगुण्यो भवार्जुन ।
निर्द्वन्द्वो नित्यसत्त्वस्थो निर्योगक्षेम आत्मवान् ॥४५
यावानर्थ उदपाने सर्वतः संप्लुतोदके ।
तावान् सर्वेषु वेदेषु ब्राह्मणस्य विजानतः ॥४६
कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन ।
मा कर्मफलहेतुर्भूर्मा ते सङ्गोऽस्त्वकर्मणि ॥४७
योगस्थः कुरु कर्माणि सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा धनंजय ।
सिद्ध्यसिद्ध्योः समो भूत्वा समत्वं योग उच्यते ॥४८
दूरेण ह्यवरं कर्म बुद्धियोगाद्धनंजय ।
बुद्धौ शरणमन्विच्छ कृपणाः फलहेतवः ॥४९
बुद्धियुक्तो जहातीह उभे सुकृतदुष्कृते ।
तस्माद्योगाय युज्यस्व योगः कर्मसु कौशलम् ॥५०
कर्मजं बुद्धियुक्ता हि फलं त्यक्त्वा मनीषिणः ।
जन्मबन्धविनिर्मुक्ताः पदं गच्छन्त्यनामयम् ॥५१
यदा ते मोहकलिलं बुद्धिर्व्यतितरिष्यति ।
तदा गन्तासि निर्वेदं श्रोतव्यस्य श्रुतस्य च ॥५२
श्रुतिविप्रतिपन्ना ते यदा स्थास्यति निश्चला ।
समाधावचला बुद्धिस्तदा योगमवाप्स्यसि ॥५३

अर्जुन—स्थितप्रज्ञस्य का भाषा समाधिस्थस्य केशव ।
स्थितधीः किं प्रभाषेत किमासीत व्रजेत किम् ॥५४

श्रीभगवान्—प्रजहाति यदा कामान् सर्वान् पार्थ मनोगतान् ।
आत्मन्येवात्मना तुष्टः स्थितप्रज्ञस्तदोच्यते ।।५५
दुःखेष्वनुद्विग्नमनाः सुखेषु विगतस्पृहः ।
वीतरागभयक्रोधः स्थितधीर्मुनिरुच्यते ।।५६
यः सर्वत्रानभिस्नेहस्तत्तत् प्राप्य शुभाशुभम् ।
नाभिनन्दति न द्वेष्टि तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता ।।५७
यदा संहरते चायं कूर्मोऽङ्गानीव सर्वशः ।
इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियार्थेभ्यस्तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता ।।५८
विषया विनिवर्तन्ते निराहारस्य देहिनः ।
रसवर्जं रसोऽप्यस्य परं दृष्ट्वा निवर्तते ।।५९
यततो ह्यपि कौन्तेय पुरुषस्य विपश्चितः ।
इन्द्रियाणि प्रमाथीनि हरन्ति प्रसभं मनः ।।६०
तानि सर्वाणि संयम्य युक्त आसीत मत्परः ।
वशे हि यस्येन्द्रियाणि तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता ।।६१
ध्यायतो विषयान् पुंसः सङ्गस्तेषूपजायते ।
सङ्गात् संजायते कामः कामात् क्रोधोऽभिजायते ।।६२
क्रोधाद्भवति संमोहः संमोहात् स्मृतिविभ्रमः ।
स्मृतिभ्रंशाद्बुद्धिनाशो बुद्धिनाशात् प्रणश्यति ।।६३
रागद्वेषवियुक्तैस्तु विषयानिन्द्रियैश्चरन् ।
आत्मवश्यैर्विधेयात्मा प्रसादमधिगच्छति ।।६४
प्रसादे सर्वदुःखानां हानिरस्योपजायते ।
प्रसन्नचेतसो ह्याशु बुद्धिः पर्यवतिष्ठते ।।६५
नास्ति बुद्धिरयुक्तस्य न चायुक्तस्य भावना ।
न चाभावयतः शान्तिरशान्तस्य कुतः सुखम् ।।६६
इन्द्रियाणां हि चरतां यन्मनोऽनुविधीयते ।
तदस्य हरति प्रज्ञां वायुर्नावमिवाम्भसि ।।६७
तस्माद्यस्य महाबाहो निगृहीतानि सर्वशः ।
इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियार्थेभ्यस्तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता ।।६८
या निशा सर्वभूतानां तस्यां जागर्ति संयमी ।
यस्यां जाग्रति भूतानि सा निशा पश्यतो मुनेः ।।६९
आपूर्यमाणमचलप्रतिष्ठं समुद्रमापः प्रविशन्ति यद्वत् ।
तद्वत् कामा यं प्रविशन्ति सर्वे स शान्तिमाप्नोति न कामकामी ।।
विहाय कामान् यः सर्वान् पुमांश्चरति निःस्पृहः ।
निर्ममो निरहंकारः स शान्तिमधिगच्छति ।।७१
एषा ब्राह्मी स्थितिः पार्थ नैनां प्राप्य विमुह्यति ।
स्थित्वास्यामन्तकालेऽपि ब्रह्मनिर्वाणमृच्छति ।।७२

३. कर्मयोगः

अर्जुन—ज्यायसी चेत् कर्मणस्ते मता बुद्धिर्जनार्दन ।
तत् किं कर्मणि घोरे मां नियोजयसि केशव ।।१
व्यामिश्रेणेव वाक्येन बुद्धिं मोहयसीव मे ।
तदेकं वद निश्चित्य येन श्रेयोऽहमाप्नुयाम् ।।२

श्रीभगवान् —लोकेऽस्मिन् द्विविधा निष्ठा पुरा प्रोक्ता मयानघ ।
ज्ञानयोगेन सांख्यानां कर्मयोगेण योगिनाम् ।। ३
न कर्मणामनारम्भान्नैष्कर्म्यं पुरुषोऽश्नुते ।
न च संन्यसनादेव सिद्धिं समधिगच्छति ।।४
न हि कश्चित् क्षणमपि जातु तिष्ठत्यकर्मकृत् ।
कार्यते ह्यवशः कर्म सर्वः प्रकृतिजैर्गुणैः ।। ५
कर्मेन्द्रियाणि संयम्य य आस्ते मनसा स्मरन् ।
इन्द्रियार्थान् विमूढात्मा मिथ्याचारः स उच्यते ।। ६
यस्त्विन्द्रियाणि मनसा नियम्यारभतेऽर्जुन ।
कर्मेन्द्रियैः कर्मयोगमसक्तः स विशिष्यते ।।७
नियतं कुरु कर्म त्वं कर्म ज्यायो ह्यकर्मणः ।
शरीरयात्रापि च ते न प्रसिध्येदकर्मणः ।।८
यज्ञार्थात् कर्मणोऽन्यत्र लोकोऽयं कर्मबन्धनः ।
तदर्थं कर्म कौन्तेय मुक्तसङ्गः समाचर ।।९
सहयज्ञाः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा पुरोवाच प्रजापतिः ।
अनेन प्रसविष्यध्वमेष वोऽस्त्विष्टकामधुक् ।।१०
देवान् भावयतानेन ते देवा भावयन्तु वः ।
परस्परं भावयन्तः श्रेयः परमवाप्स्यथ ।।११
इष्टान् भोगान् हि वो देवा दास्यन्ते यज्ञभाविताः ।
तैर्दत्तानप्रदायैभ्यो यो भुङ्क्ते स्तेन एव सः ।।१२
यज्ञशिष्टाशिनः सन्तो मुच्यन्ते सर्वकिल्बिषैः ।
भुञ्जते ते त्वघं पापा ये पचन्त्यात्मकारणात् ।।१३
अन्नाद्भवन्ति भूतानि पर्जन्यादन्नसंभवः ।
यज्ञाद्भवति पर्जन्यो यज्ञः कर्मसमुद्भवः ।। १४
कर्म ब्रह्मोद्भवं विद्धि ब्रह्माक्षरसमुद्भवम् ।
तस्मात् सर्वगतं ब्रह्म नित्यं यज्ञे प्रतिष्ठितम् ।। १५
एवं प्रवर्तितं चक्रं नानुवर्तयतीह यः ।
अघायुरिन्द्रियारामो मोघं पार्थ स जीवति ।। १६
यस्त्वात्मरतिरेव स्यादात्मतृप्तश्च मानवः ।
आत्मन्येव च संतुष्टस्तस्य कार्यं न विद्यते ।।१७
नैव तस्य कृतेनार्थो नाकृतेनेह कश्चन ।
न चास्य सर्वभूतेषु कश्चिदर्थव्यपाश्रयः ।।१८
तस्मादसक्तः सततं कार्यं कर्म समाचर ।
असक्तो ह्याचरन् कर्म परमाप्नोति पूरुषः ।। १९
कर्मणैव हि संसिद्धिमास्थिता जनकादयः ।
लोकसंग्रहमेवापि संपश्यन् कर्तुमर्हसि ।।२०
यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेवेतरो जनः ।
स यत् प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते ।।२१
न मे पार्थास्ति कर्तव्यं त्रिषु लोकेषु किंचन ।
नानवाप्तमवाप्तव्यं वर्त एव च कर्मणि ।।२२
यदि ह्यहं न वर्तेयं जातु कर्मण्यतन्द्रितः ।
मम वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते मनुष्याः पार्थ सर्वशः ।।२३
उत्सीदेयुरिमे लोका न कुर्यां कर्म चेदहम् ।
संकरस्य च कर्ता स्यामुपहन्यामिमाः प्रजाः ।।२४

सक्ताः कर्मण्यविद्वांसो यथा कुर्वन्ति भारत ।
कुर्याद्विद्वांस्तथासक्तश्चिकीर्षुर्लोकसंग्रहम् ।।२५
न बुद्धिभेदं जनयेदज्ञानां कर्मसङ्गिनाम् ।
जोषयेत् सर्वकर्माणि विद्वान् युक्तः समाचरन् ।।२६
प्रकृतेः क्रियमाणानि गुणैः कर्माणि सर्वशः ।
अहंकारविमूढात्मा कर्ताहमिति मन्यते ।। २७
तत्त्ववित् तु महाबाहो गुणकर्मविभागयोः ।
गुणा गुणेषु वर्तन्त इति मत्वा न सज्जते ।। २८
प्रकृतेर्गुणसंमूढाः सज्जन्ते गुणकर्मसु ।
तानकृत्स्नविदो मन्दान् कृत्स्नविन्न विचालयेत् ।। २९

मयि सर्वाणि कर्माणि संन्यस्याध्यात्मचेतसा ।
निराशीर्निर्ममो भूत्वा युध्यस्व विगतज्वरः ।।३०
ये मे मतमिदं नित्यमनुतिष्ठन्ति मानवाः ।
श्रद्धावन्तोऽनसूयन्तो मुच्यन्ते तेऽपि कर्मभिः ।।३१
ये त्वेतदभ्यसूयन्तो नानुतिष्ठन्ति मे मतम् ।
सर्वज्ञानविमूढांस्तान् विद्धि नष्टानचेतसः ।।३२
सदृशं चेष्टते स्वस्याः प्रकृतेर्ज्ञानवानपि ।
प्रकृतिं यान्ति भूतानि निग्रहः किं करिष्यति ।। ३३
इन्द्रियस्येन्द्रियस्यार्थे रागद्वेषौ व्यवस्थितौ ।
तयोर्न वशमागच्छेत् तौ ह्यस्य परिपन्थिनौ ।।३४

श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात् स्वनुष्ठितात् ।
स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः ।।३५

अर्जुन—अथ केन प्रयुक्तोऽयं पापं चरति पूरुषः ।
अनिच्छन्नपि वार्ष्णेय बलादिव नियोजितः ।।३६
श्रीभगवान्—काम एष क्रोध एष रजोगुणसमुद्भवः ।
महाशनो महापाप्मा विद्ध्येनमिह वैरिणम् ।।३७
धूमेनाव्रियते वह्निर्यथादर्शो मलेन च ।
यथोल्बेनावृतो गर्भस्तथा तेनेदमावृतम् ।।३८
आवृतं ज्ञानमेतेन ज्ञानिनो नित्यवैरिणा ।
कामरूपेण कौन्तेय दुष्पूरेणानलेन च ।।३९
इन्द्रियाणि मनो बुद्धिरस्याधिष्ठानमुच्यते ।
एतैर्विमोहयत्येष ज्ञानमावृत्य देहिनम् ।।४०
तस्मात् त्वमिन्द्रियाण्यादौ नियम्य भरतर्षभ ।
पाप्मानं प्रजहि ह्येनं ज्ञानविज्ञाननाशनम् ।।४१
इन्द्रियाणि पराण्याहुरिन्द्रियेभ्यः परं मनः ।
मनसस्तु परा बुद्धिर्यो बुद्धेः परतस्तु सः ।।४२
एवं बुद्धेः परं बुद्ध्वा संस्तभ्यात्मानमात्मना ।
जहि शत्रुं महाबाहो कामरूपं दुरासदम् ।।४३

४. ज्ञानकर्मसंन्यासयोगः

श्रीभगवान्—इमं विवस्वते योगं प्रोक्तवानहमव्ययम् ।
विवस्वान् मनवे प्राह मनुरिक्ष्वाकवेऽब्रवीत् ।।१

एवं परंपराप्राप्तमिमं राजर्षयो विदुः ।
स कालेनेह महता योगो नष्टः परंतप ।।२
स एवायं मया तेऽद्य योगः प्रोक्तः पुरातनः ।
भक्तोऽसि मे सखा चेति रहस्यं ह्येतदुत्तमम् ।।३
अर्जुन—अपरं भवतो जन्म परं जन्म विवस्वतः ।
कथमेतद्विजानीयां त्वमादौ प्रोक्तवानिति ।।४
श्रीभगवान्—बहूनि मे व्यतीतानि जन्मानि तव चार्जुन ।
तान्यहं वेद सर्वाणि न त्वं वेत्थ परंतप ।।५
अजोऽपि सन्नव्ययात्मा भूतानामीश्वरोऽपि सन् ।
प्रकृतिं स्वामधिष्ठाय संभवाम्यात्ममायया ।।६
यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत ।
अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ।।७
परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम् ।
धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे ।।८
जन्म कर्म च मे दिव्यमेवं यो वेत्ति तत्त्वतः ।
त्यक्त्वा देहं पुनर्जन्म नैति मामेति सोऽर्जुन ।।९
वीतरागभयक्रोधा मन्मया मामुपाश्रिताः ।
बहवो ज्ञानतपसा पूता मद्भावमागताः ।।१०
ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम् ।
मम वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते मनुष्याः पार्थ सर्वशः ।।११
काङ्क्षन्तः कर्मणां सिद्धिं यजन्त इह देवताः ।
क्षिप्रं हि मानुषे लोके सिद्धिर्भवति कर्मजा ।।१२
चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागशः ।
तस्य कर्तारमपि मां विद्ध्यकर्तारमव्ययम् ।।१३
न मां कर्माणि लिम्पन्ति न मे कर्मफले स्पृहा ।
इति मां योऽभिजानाति कर्मभिर्न स बध्यते ।।१४
एवं ज्ञात्वा कृतं कर्म पूर्वैरपि मुमुक्षुभिः ।
कुरु कर्मैव तस्मात् त्वं पूर्वैः पूर्वतरं कृतम् ।।१५
किं कर्म किमकर्मेति कवयोऽप्यत्र मोहिताः ।
तत् ते कर्म प्रवक्ष्यामि यज्ज्ञात्वा मोक्ष्यसेऽशुभात् ।।१६
कर्मणो ह्यपि बोद्धव्यं बोद्धव्यं च विकर्मणः ।
अकर्मणश्च बोद्धव्यं गहना कर्मणो गतिः ।।१७
कर्मण्यकर्म यः पश्येदकर्मणि च कर्म यः ।
स बुद्धिमान् मनुष्येषु स युक्तः कृत्स्नकर्मकृत् ।।१८
यस्य सर्वे समारम्भाः कामसंकल्पवर्जिताः ।
ज्ञानाग्निदग्धकर्माणं तमाहुः पण्डितं बुधाः ।।१९
त्यक्त्वा कर्मफलासङ्गं नित्यतृप्तो निराश्रयः ।
कर्मण्यभिप्रवृत्तोऽपि नैव किंचित् करोति सः ।।२०
निराशीर्यतचित्तात्मा त्यक्तसर्वपरिग्रहः ।
शारीरं केवलं कर्म कुर्वन्नाप्नोति किल्बिषम् ।।२१
यदृच्छालाभसंतुष्टो द्वंद्वातीतो विमत्सरः ।
समः सिद्धावसिद्धौ च कृत्वापि न निबध्यते ।।२२
गतसङ्गस्य मुक्तस्य ज्ञानावस्थितचेतसः ।
यज्ञायाचरतः कर्म समग्रं प्रविलीयते ।।२३

ब्रह्मार्पणं ब्रह्म हविर्ब्रह्माग्नौ ब्रह्मणा हुतम् ।
ब्रह्मैव तेन गन्तव्यं ब्रह्मकर्मसमाधिना ॥२४
दैवमेवापरे यज्ञं योगिनः पर्युपासते ।
ब्रह्माग्नावपरे यज्ञं यज्ञेनैवोपजुह्वति ॥२५
श्रोत्रादीनीन्द्रियाण्यन्ये संयमाग्निषु जुह्वति ।
शब्दादीन् विषयानन्य इन्द्रियाग्निषु जुह्वति ॥२६
सर्वाणीन्द्रियकर्माणि प्राणकर्माणि चापरे ।
आत्मसंयमयोगाग्नौ जुह्वति ज्ञानदीपिते ॥२७
द्रव्ययज्ञास्तपोयज्ञा योगयज्ञास्तथापरे ।
स्वाध्यायज्ञानयज्ञाश्च यतयः संशितव्रताः ॥२८
अपाने जुह्वति प्राणं प्राणेऽपानं तथापरे ।
प्राणापानगती रुद्ध्वा प्राणायामपरायणाः ॥२९
अपरे नियताहाराः प्राणान् प्राणेषु जुह्वति ।
सर्वेऽप्येते यज्ञविदो यज्ञक्षपितकल्मषाः ॥३०
यज्ञशिष्टामृतभुजो यान्ति ब्रह्म सनातनम् ।
नायं लोकोऽस्त्ययज्ञस्य कुतोऽन्यः कुरुसत्तम ॥३१
एवं बहुविधा यज्ञा वितता ब्रह्मणो मुखे ।
कर्मजान् विद्धि तान् सर्वानेवं ज्ञात्वा विमोक्ष्यसे ॥३२
श्रेयान् द्रव्यमयाद्यज्ञाज्ज्ञानयज्ञः परंतप ।
सर्वं कर्माखिलं पार्थ ज्ञाने परिसमाप्यते ॥३३
तद्विद्धि प्रणिपातेन परिप्रश्नेन सेवया ।
उपदेक्ष्यन्ति ते ज्ञानं ज्ञानिनस्तत्त्वदर्शिनः ॥३४
यज्ज्ञात्वा न पुनर्मोहमेवं यास्यसि पाण्डव ।
येन भूतान्यशेषेण द्रक्ष्यस्यात्मन्यथो मयि ॥३५
अपि चेदसि पापेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यः पापकृत्तमः ।
सर्वं ज्ञानप्लवेनैव वृजिनं संतरिष्यसि ॥३६
यथैधांसि समिद्धोऽग्निर्भस्मसात् कुरुतेऽर्जुन ।
ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात् कुरुते तथा ॥३७
न हि ज्ञानेन सदृशं पवित्रमिह विद्यते ।
तत् स्वयं योगसंसिद्धः कालेनात्मनि विन्दति ॥३८
श्रद्धावाँल्लभते ज्ञानं तत्परः संयतेन्द्रियः ।
ज्ञानं लब्ध्वा परां शान्तिमचिरेणाधिगच्छति ॥३९
अज्ञश्चाश्रद्दधानश्च संशयात्मा विनश्यति ।
नायं लोकोऽस्ति न परो न सुखं संशयात्मनः ॥४०
योगसंन्यस्तकर्माणं ज्ञानसंछिन्नसंशयम् ।
आत्मवन्तं न कर्माणि निबध्नन्ति धनंजय ॥४१
तस्मादज्ञानसंभूतं हृत्स्थं ज्ञानासिनात्मनः ।
छित्त्वैनं संशयं योगमातिष्ठोत्तिष्ठ भारत ॥४२

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५. संन्यासयोगः

अर्जुन—संन्यासं कर्मणां कृष्ण पुनर्योगं च शंससि ।
यच्छ्रेय एतयोरेकं तन्मे ब्रूहि सुनिश्चितम् ॥१

श्रीभगवान्—संन्यासः कर्मयोगश्च निःश्रेयसकरावुभौ ।
तयोस्तु कर्मसंन्यासात् कर्मयोगो विशिष्यते ।।२

ज्ञेयः स नित्यसंन्यासी यो न द्वेष्टि न काङ्क्षति ।
निर्द्वंद्वो हि महाबाहो सुखं बन्धात् प्रमुच्यते ।।३

सांख्ययोगौ पृथग्बालाः प्रवदन्ति न पण्डिताः ।
एकमप्यास्थितः सम्यगुभयोर्विन्दते फलम् ।।४
यत् सांख्यैः प्राप्यते स्थानं तद्योगैरपि गम्यते ।
एकं सांख्यं च योगं च यः पश्यति स पश्यति ।।५
संन्यासस्तु महाबाहो दुःखमाप्तुमयोगतः ।
योगयुक्तो मुनिर्ब्रह्म न चिरेणाधिगच्छति ।।६

योगयुक्तो विशुद्धात्मा विजितात्मा जितेन्द्रियः ।
सर्वभूतात्मभूतात्मा कुर्वन्नपि न लिप्यते ।।७

नैव किंचित् करोमीति युक्तो मन्येत तत्त्ववित् ।
पश्यन्शृण्वन् स्पृशञ्जिघ्रन्नश्नन् गच्छन् स्वपन्श्वसन् ।।८
प्रलपन् विसृजन् गृह्णन्नुन्मिषन्निमिषन्नपि ।
इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियार्थेषु वर्तन्त इति धारयन् ।।९
ब्रह्मण्याधाय कर्माणि सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा करोति यः ।
लिप्यते न स पापेन पद्मपत्रमिवाम्भसा ।।१०
कायेन मनसा बुद्ध्या केवलैरिन्द्रियैरपि ।
योगिनः कर्म कुर्वन्ति सङ्गं त्यक्त्वाऽऽत्मशुद्धये ।।११
युक्तः कर्मफलं त्यक्त्वा शान्तिमाप्नोति नैष्ठिकीम् ।
अयुक्तः कामकारेण फले सक्तो निबध्यते ।।१२

सर्वकर्माणि मनसा संन्यस्यास्ते सुखं वशी ।
नवद्वारे पुरे देही नैव कुर्वन् न कारयन् ।।१३
न कर्तृत्वं न कर्माणि लोकस्य सृजति प्रभुः ।
न कर्मफलसंयोगं स्वभावस्तु प्रवर्तते ।।१४
नादत्ते कस्यचित् पापं न चैव सुकृतं विभुः ।
अज्ञानेनावृतं ज्ञानं तेन मुह्यन्ति जन्तवः ।।१५
ज्ञानेन तु तदज्ञानं येषां नाशितमात्मनः ।
तेषामादित्यवज्ज्ञानं प्रकाशयति तत् परम् ।।१६
तद्बुद्धयस्तदात्मानस्तन्निष्ठास्तत्परायणाः ।
गच्छन्त्यपुनरावृत्तिं ज्ञाननिर्धूतकल्मषाः ।।१७

विद्याविनयसंपन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ।
शुनि चैव श्वपाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिनः ।।१८
इहैव तैर्जितः सर्गो येषां साम्ये स्थितं मनः ।
निर्दोषं हि समं ब्रह्म तस्माद्ब्रह्मणि ते स्थिताः ।।१९
न प्रहृष्येत् प्रियं प्राप्य नोद्विजेत् प्राप्य चाप्रियम् ।
स्थिरबुद्धिरसंमूढो ब्रह्मविद्ब्रह्मणि स्थितः ।।२०
बाह्यस्पर्शेष्वसक्तात्मा विन्दत्यात्मनि यत् सुखम् ।
स ब्रह्मयोगयुक्तात्मा सुखमक्षयमश्नुते ।।२१
ये हि संस्पर्शजा भोगा दुःखयोनय एव ते ।
आद्यन्तवन्तः कौन्तेय न तेषु रमते बुधः ।।२२
शक्नोतीहैव यः सोढुं प्राक् शरीरविमोक्षणात् ।
कामक्रोधोद्भवं वेगं स युक्तः स सुखी नरः ।।२३

योऽन्तःसुखोऽन्तरारामस्तथान्तर्ज्योतिरेव यः।
स योगी ब्रह्मनिर्वाणं ब्रह्मभूतोऽधिगच्छति ॥२४
लभन्ते ब्रह्मनिर्वाणमृषयः क्षीणकल्मषाः।
छिन्नद्वैधा यतात्मानः सर्वभूतहिते रताः ॥२५
कामक्रोधवियुक्तानां यतीनां यतचेतसाम्।
अभितो ब्रह्मनिर्वाणं वर्तते विदितात्मनाम् ॥२६
स्पर्शान् कृत्वा बहिर्बाह्यांश्चक्षुश्चैवान्तरे भ्रुवोः।
प्राणापानौ समौ कृत्वा नासाभ्यन्तरचारिणौ ॥२७
यतेन्द्रियमनोबुद्धिर्मुनिर्मोक्षपरायणः।
विगतेच्छाभयक्रोधो यः सदा मुक्त एव सः ॥२८
भोक्तारं यज्ञतपसां सर्वलोकमहेश्वरम्।
सुहृदं सर्वभूतानां ज्ञात्वा मां शान्तिमृच्छति ॥२९

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६. ध्यानयोगः

श्रीभगवान्—अनाश्रितः कर्मफलं कार्यं कर्म करोति यः।
स संन्यासी च योगी च न निरग्निर्न चाक्रियः ॥१
यं संन्यासमिति प्राहुर्योगं तं विद्धि पाण्डव।
न ह्यसंन्यस्तसंकल्पो योगी भवति कश्चन ॥२
आरुरुक्षोर्मुनेर्योगं कर्म कारणमुच्यते।
योगारूढस्य तस्यैव शमः कारणमुच्यते ॥३
यदा हि नेन्द्रियार्थेषु न कर्मस्वनुषज्जते।
सर्वसंकल्पसंन्यासी योगारूढस्तदोच्यते ॥४
उद्धरेदात्मनात्मानं नात्मानमवसादयेत्।
आत्मैव ह्यात्मनो बन्धुरात्मैव रिपुरात्मनः ॥५
बन्धुरात्मात्मनस्तस्य येनात्मैवात्मना जितः।
अनात्मनस्तु शत्रुत्वे वर्तेतात्मैव शत्रुवत् ॥६
जितात्मनः प्रशान्तस्य परमात्मा समाहितः।
शीतोष्णसुखदुःखेषु तथा मानापमानयोः ॥७
ज्ञानविज्ञानतृप्तात्मा कूटस्थो विजितेन्द्रियः।
युक्त इत्युच्यते योगी समलोष्टाश्मकाञ्चनः ॥८
सुहृन्मित्रार्युदासीनमध्यस्थद्वेष्यबन्धुषु।
साधुष्वपि च पापेषु समबुद्धिर्विशिष्यते ॥९
योगी युञ्जीत सततमात्मानं रहसि स्थितः।
एकाकी यतचित्तात्मा निराशीरपरिग्रहः ॥१०
शुचौ देशे प्रतिष्ठाप्य स्थिरमासनमात्मनः।
नात्युच्छ्रितं नातिनीचं चैलाजिनकुशोत्तरम् ॥११
तत्रैकाग्रं मनः कृत्वा यतचित्तेन्द्रियक्रियः।
उपविश्यासने युञ्ज्याद्योगमात्मविशुद्धये ॥१२
समं कायशिरोग्रीवं धारयन्नचलं स्थिरः।
संप्रेक्ष्य नासिकाग्रं स्वं दिशश्चानवलोकयन् ॥१३
प्रशान्तात्मा विगतभीर्ब्रह्मचारिव्रते स्थितः।
मनः संयम्य मच्चित्तो युक्त आसीत मत्परः ॥१४

युञ्जन्नेवं सदात्मानं योगी नियतमानसः ।
शान्तिं निर्वाणपरमां मत्संस्थामधिगच्छति ॥१५
नात्यश्नतस्तु योगोऽस्ति न चैकान्तमनश्नतः ।
न चाति स्वप्नशीलस्य जाग्रतो नैव चार्जुन ॥१६
युक्ताहारविहारस्य युक्तचेष्टस्य कर्मसु ।
युक्तस्वप्नावबोधस्य योगो भवति दुःखहा ॥१७
यदा विनियतं चित्तमात्मन्येवावतिष्ठते ।
निःस्पृहः सर्वकामेभ्यो युक्त इत्युच्यते तदा ॥१८
यथा दीपो निवातस्थो नेङ्गते सोपमा स्मृता ।
योगिनो यतचित्तस्य युञ्जतो योगमात्मनः ॥१९
यत्रोपरमते चित्तं निरुद्धं योगसेवया ।
यत्र चैवात्मनात्मानं पश्यन्नात्मनि तुष्यति ॥२०
सुखमात्यन्तिकं यत् तद्बुद्धिग्राह्यमतीन्द्रियम् ।
वेत्ति यत्र न चैवायं स्थितश्चलति तत्त्वतः ॥२१
यं लब्ध्वा चापरं लाभं मन्यते नाधिकं ततः ।
यस्मिन् स्थितो न दुःखेन गुरुणापि विचाल्यते ॥२२
तं विद्याद्दुःखसंयोगवियोगं योगसंज्ञितम् ।
स निश्चयेन योक्तव्यो योगोऽनिर्विण्णचेतसा ॥२३
संकल्पप्रभवान् कामांस्त्यक्त्वा सर्वानशेषतः ।
मनसैवेन्द्रियग्रामं विनियम्य समन्ततः ॥२४
शनैः शनैरुपरमेद्बुद्ध्या धृतिगृहीतया ।
आत्मसंस्थं मनः कृत्वा न किंचिदपि चिन्तयेत् ॥२५
यतो यतो निश्चरति मनश्चञ्चलमस्थिरम् ।
ततस्ततो नियम्यैतदात्मन्येव वशं नयेत् ॥२६
प्रशान्तमनसं ह्येनं योगिनं सुखमुत्तमम् ।
उपैति शान्तरजसं ब्रह्मभूतमकल्मषम् ॥२७
युञ्जन्नेवं सदात्मानं योगी विगतकल्मषः ।
सुखेन ब्रह्मसंस्पर्शमत्यन्तं सुखमश्नुते ॥२८
सर्वभूतस्थमात्मानं सर्वभूतानि चात्मनि ।
ईक्षते योगयुक्तात्मा सर्वत्र समदर्शनः ॥२९
यो मां पश्यति सर्वत्र सर्वं च मयि पश्यति ।
तस्याहं न प्रणश्यामि स च मे न प्रणश्यति ॥३०
सर्वभूतस्थितं यो मां भजत्येकत्वमास्थितः ।
सर्वथा वर्तमानोऽपि स योगी मयि वर्तते ॥३१
आत्मौपम्येन सर्वत्र समं पश्यति योऽर्जुन ।
सुखं वा यदि वा दुःखं स योगी परमो मतः ॥३२
अर्जुन—योऽयं योगस्त्वया प्रोक्तः साम्येन मधुसूदन ।
एतस्याहं न पश्यामि चञ्चलत्वात् स्थितिं स्थिराम् ॥३३
चञ्चलं हि मनः कृष्ण प्रमाथि बलवद् दृढम् ।
तस्याहं निग्रहं मन्ये वायोरिव सुदुष्करम् ॥३४
श्रीभगवान्—असंशयं महाबाहो मनो दुर्निग्रहं चलम् ।
अभ्यासेन तु कौन्तेय वैराग्येण च गृह्यते ॥३५
असंयतात्मना योगो दुष्प्राप इति मे मतिः ।
वश्यात्मना तु यतता शक्योऽवाप्तुमुपायतः ॥३६

अर्जुन—अयतिः श्रद्धयोपेतो योगाच्चलितमानसः ।
अप्राप्य योगसंसिद्धिं कां गतिं कृष्ण गच्छति ।।३७
कच्चिन्नोभयविभ्रष्टश्छिन्नाभ्रमिव नश्यति ।
अप्रतिष्ठो महाबाहो विमूढो ब्रह्मणः पथि ।।३८
एतन्मे संशयं कृष्ण छेत्तुमर्हस्यशेषतः ।
त्वदन्यः संशयस्यास्य छेत्ता न ह्युपपद्यते ।।३९
श्रीभगवान्—पार्थ नैवेह नामुत्र विनाशस्तस्य विद्यते ।
न हि कल्याणकृत् कश्चिद्दुर्गतिं तात गच्छति ।।४०
प्राप्य पुण्यकृतां लोकानुषित्वा शाश्वतीः समाः ।
शुचीनां श्रीमतां गेहे योगभ्रष्टोऽभिजायते ।।४१
अथवा योगिनामेव कुले भवति धीमताम् ।
एतद्धि दुर्लभतरं लोके जन्म यदीदृशम् ।।४२
तत्र तं बुद्धिसंयोगं लभते पौर्वदेहिकम् ।
यतते च ततो भूयः संसिद्धौ कुरुनन्दन ।।४३
पूर्वाभ्यासेन तेनैव ह्रियते ह्यवशोऽपि सः ।
जिज्ञासुरपि योगस्य शब्दब्रह्मातिवर्तते ।।४४
प्रयत्नाद्यतमानस्तु योगी संशुद्धकिल्बिषः ।
अनेकजन्मसंसिद्धस्ततो याति परां गतिम् ।।४५
तपस्विभ्योऽधिको योगी ज्ञानिभ्योऽपि मतोऽधिकः ।
कर्मिभ्यश्चाधिको योगी तस्माद्योगी भवार्जुन ।।४६
योगिनामपि सर्वेषां मद्गतेनान्तरात्मना ।
श्रद्धावान् भजते यो मां स मे युक्ततमो मतः ।।४७

७. ज्ञानविज्ञानयोगः

श्रीभगवान्—मय्यासक्तमनाः पार्थ योगं युञ्जन्मदाश्रयः ।
असंशयं समग्रं मां यथा ज्ञास्यसि तच्छृणु ।।१
ज्ञानं तेऽहं सविज्ञानमिदं वक्ष्याम्यशेषतः ।
यज्ज्ञात्वा नेह भूयोऽन्यज्ज्ञातव्यमवशिष्यते ।।२
मनुष्याणां सहस्रेषु कश्चिद्यतति सिद्धये
यततामपि सिद्धानां कश्चिन्मां वेत्ति तत्त्वतः ।।३
भूमिरापोऽनलो वायुः खं मनो बुद्धिरेव च ।
अहंकार इतीयं मे भिन्ना प्रकृतिरष्टधा ।।४
अपरेयमितस्त्वन्यां प्रकृतिं विद्धि मे पराम् ।
जीवभूतां महाबाहो ययेदं धार्यते जगत् ।।५
एतद्योनीनि भूतानि सर्वाणीत्युपधारय ।
अहं कृत्स्नस्य जगतः प्रभवः प्रलयस्तथा ।।६
मत्तः परतरं नान्यत् किंचिदस्ति धनंजय ।
मयि सर्वमिदं प्रोतं सूत्रे मणिगणा इव ।।७
रसोऽहमप्सु कौन्तेय प्रभास्मि शशिसूर्ययोः ।
प्रणवः सर्ववेदेषु शब्दः खे पौरुषं नृषु ।।८
पुण्यो गन्धः पृथिव्यां च तेजश्चास्मि विभावसौ ।
जीवनं सर्वभूतेषु तपश्चास्मि तपस्विषु ।।९

बीजं मां सर्वभूतानां विद्धि पार्थ सनातनम् ।
बुद्धिर्बुद्धिमतामस्मि तेजस्तेजस्विनामहम् ॥१०
बलं बलवतामस्मि कामरागविवर्जितम् ।
धर्माविरुद्धो भूतेषु कामोऽस्मि भरतर्षभ ॥११
ये चैव सात्त्विका भावा राजसास्तामसाश्च ये ।
मत्त एवेति तान् विद्धि न त्वहं तेषु ते मयि ॥१२
त्रिभिर्गुणमयैर्भावैरेभिः सर्वमिदं जगत् ।
मोहितं नाभिजानाति मामेभ्यः परमव्ययम् ॥१३
दैवी ह्येषा गुणमयी मम माया दुरत्यया ।
मामेव ये प्रपद्यन्ते मायामेतां तरन्ति ते ॥१४
न मां दुष्कृतिनो मूढाः प्रपद्यन्ते नराधमाः ।
माययापहृतज्ञाना आसुरं भावमाश्रिताः ॥१५
चतुर्विधा भजन्ते मां जनाः सुकृतिनोऽर्जुन ।
आर्तो जिज्ञासुरर्थार्थी ज्ञानी च भरतर्षभ ॥१६
तेषां ज्ञानी नित्ययुक्त एकभक्तिर्विशिष्यते ।
प्रियो हि ज्ञानिनोऽत्यर्थमहं स च मम प्रियः ॥१७
उदाराः सर्व एवैते ज्ञानी त्वात्मैव मे मतम् ।
आस्थितः स हि युक्तात्मा मामेवानुत्तमां गतिम् ॥१८
बहूनां जन्मनामन्ते ज्ञानवान् मां प्रपद्यते ।
वासुदेवः सर्वमिति स महात्मा सुदुर्लभः ॥१९
कामैस्तैस्तैर्हृतज्ञानाः प्रपद्यन्तेऽन्यदेवताः ।
तं तं नियममास्थाय प्रकृत्या नियताः स्वया ॥२०

यो यो यां यां तनुं भक्तः श्रद्धयार्चितुमिच्छति ।
तस्य तस्याचलां श्रद्धां तामेव विदधाम्यहम् ॥२१
स तया श्रद्धया युक्तस्तस्याराधनमीहते ।
लभते च ततः कामान् मयैव विहितान्हि तान् ॥२२
अन्तवत् तु फलं तेषां तद्भवत्यल्पमेधसाम् ।
देवान् देवयजो यान्ति मद्भक्ता यान्ति मामपि ॥२३
अव्यक्तं व्यक्तिमापन्नं मन्यन्ते मामबुद्धयः ।
परं भावमजानन्तो ममाव्ययमनुत्तमम् ॥२४
नाहं प्रकाशः सर्वस्य योगमायासमावृतः ।
मूढोऽयं नाभिजानाति लोको मामजमव्ययम् ॥२५
वेदाहं समतीतानि वर्तमानानि चार्जुन ।
भविष्याणि च भूतानि मां तु वेद न कश्चन ॥२६
इच्छाद्वेषसमुत्थेन द्वन्द्वमोहेन भारत ।
सर्वभूतानि संमोहं सर्गे यान्ति परंतप ॥२७
येषां त्वन्तगतं पापं जनानां पुण्यकर्मणाम् ।
ते द्वन्द्वमोहनिर्मुक्ता भजन्ते मां दृढव्रताः ॥२८
जरामरणमोक्षाय मामाश्रित्य यतन्ति ये ।
ते ब्रह्म तद्विदुः कृत्स्नमध्यात्मं कर्म चाखिलम् ॥२९
साधिभूताधिदैवं मां साधियज्ञं च ये विदुः ।
प्रयाणकालेऽपि च मां ते विदुर्युक्तचेतसः ॥३०

८. अक्षरब्रह्मयोगः

अर्जुन—किं तद्ब्रह्म किमध्यात्मं किं कर्म पुरुषोत्तम ।
अधिभूतं च किं प्रोक्तमधिदैवं किमुच्यते ॥१
अधियज्ञः कथं कोऽत्र देहेऽस्मिन् मधुसूदन ।
प्रयाणकाले च कथं ज्ञेयोऽसि नियतात्मभिः ॥२
श्रीभगवान्—अक्षरं ब्रह्म परमं स्वभावोऽध्यात्ममुच्यते ।
भूतभावोद्भवकरो विसर्गः कर्मसंज्ञितः ॥३
अधिभूतं क्षरो भावः पुरुषश्चाधिदैवतम् ।
अधियज्ञोऽहमेवात्र देहे देहभृतां वर ॥४
अन्तकाले च मामेव स्मरन् मुक्त्वा कलेवरम् ।
यः प्रयाति स मद्भावं याति नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥५
यं यं वापि स्मरन् भावं त्यजत्यन्ते कलेवरम् ।
तं तमेवैति कौन्तेय सदा तद्भावभावितः ॥६
तस्मात् सर्वेषु कालेषु मामनुस्मर युध्य च ।
मय्यर्पितमनोबुद्धिर्मामेवैष्यस्यसंशयम् ॥७
अभ्यासयोगयुक्तेन चेतसा नान्यगामिना ।
परमं पुरुषं दिव्यं याति पार्थानुचिन्तयन् ॥८
कविं पुराणमनुशासितारमणोरणीयांसमनुस्मरेद्यः ।
सर्वस्य धातारमचिन्त्यरूपमादित्यवर्णं तमसः परस्तात् ॥९
प्रयाणकाले मनसाचलेन भक्त्या युक्तो योगबलेन चैव ।
भ्रुवोर्मध्ये प्राणमावेश्य सम्यक् स तं परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यम् ॥१०
यदक्षरं वेदविदो वदन्ति विशन्ति यद्यतयो वीतरागाः ।
यदिच्छन्तो ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति तत् ते पदं संग्रहेण प्रवक्ष्ये ॥११
सर्वद्वाराणि संयम्य मनो हृदि निरुध्य च ।
मूर्ध्न्याधायात्मनः प्राणमास्थितो योगधारणाम् ॥१२
ॐ इत्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म व्याहरन् मामनुस्मरन् ।
यः प्रयाति त्यजन् देहं स याति परमां गतिम् ॥१३
अनन्यचेताः सततं यो मां स्मरति नित्यशः ।
तस्याहं सुलभः पार्थ नित्ययुक्तस्य योगिनः ॥१४
मामुपेत्य पुनर्जन्म दुःखालयमशाश्वतम् ।
नाप्नुवन्ति महात्मानः संसिद्धिं परमां गताः ॥१५
आब्रह्मभुवनाल्लोकाः पुनरावर्तिनोऽर्जुन ।
मामुपेत्य तु कौन्तेय पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ॥१६
सहस्रयुगपर्यन्तमहर्यद्ब्रह्मणो विदुः ।
रात्रिं युगसहस्रान्तां तेऽहोरात्रविदो जनाः ॥१७
अव्यक्ताद्व्यक्तयः सर्वाः प्रभवन्त्यहरागमे ।
राज्यागमे प्रलीयन्ते तत्रैवाव्यक्तसंज्ञके ॥१८
भूतग्रामः स एवायं भूत्वा भूत्वा प्रलीयते ।
राज्यागमेऽवशः पार्थ प्रभवत्यहरागमे ॥१९
परस्तस्मात्तु भावोऽन्योऽव्यक्तोऽव्यक्तात् सनातनः ।
यः स सर्वेषु भूतेषु नश्यत्सु न विनश्यति ॥२०

अव्यक्तोऽक्षर इत्युक्तस्तमाहुः परमां गतिम् ।
यं प्राप्य न निवर्तन्ते तद्धाम परमं मम ॥२१
पुरुषः स परः पार्थ भक्त्या लभ्यस्त्वनन्यया ।
यस्यान्तःस्थानि भूतानि येन सर्वमिदं ततम् ॥२२
यत्र काले त्वनावृत्तिमावृत्तिं चैव योगिनः ।
प्रयाता यान्ति तं कालं वक्ष्यामि भरतर्षभ ॥२३
अग्निर्ज्योतिरहः शुक्लः षण्मासा उत्तरायणम् ।
तत्र प्रयाता गच्छन्ति ब्रह्म ब्रह्मविदो जनाः ॥२४
धूमो रात्रिस्तथा कृष्णः षण्मासा दक्षिणायनम् ।
तत्र चान्द्रमसं ज्योतिर्योगी प्राप्य निवर्तते ॥२५
शुक्लकृष्णे गती ह्येते जगतः शाश्वते मते ।
एकया यात्यनावृत्तिमन्ययावर्तते पुनः ॥२६
नैते सृती पार्थ जानन् योगी मुह्यति कश्चन ।
तस्मात् सर्वेषु कालेषु योगयुक्तो भवार्जुन ॥२७
वेदेषु यज्ञेषु तपःसु चैव दानेषु यत् पुण्यफलं प्रदिष्टम् ।
अत्येति तत सर्वमिदं विदित्वा योगी परं स्थानमुपैति चाद्यम् ॥

९. राजविद्या–राजगुह्ययोगः

श्रीभगवान्—इदं तु ते गुह्यतमं प्रवक्ष्याम्यनसूयवे ।
ज्ञानं विज्ञानसहितं यज्ज्ञात्वा मोक्ष्यसेऽशुभात् ॥१
राजविद्या राजगुह्यं पवित्रमिदमुत्तमम् ।
प्रत्यक्षावगमं धर्म्यं सुसुखं कर्तुमव्ययम् ॥२
अश्रद्दधानाः पुरुषा धर्मस्यास्य परंतप ।
अप्राप्य मां निवर्तन्ते मृत्युसंसारवर्त्मनि ॥३
मया ततमिदं सर्वं जगदव्यक्तमूर्तिना ।
मत्स्थानि सर्वभूतानि न चाहं तेष्ववस्थितः ॥४
न च मत्स्थानि भूतानि पश्य मे योगमैश्वरम् ।
भूतभृन्न च भूतस्थो ममात्मा भूतभावनः ॥५
यथाकाशस्थितो नित्यं वायुः सर्वत्रगो महान् ।
तथा सर्वाणि भूतानि मत्स्थानीत्युपधारय ॥६
सर्वभूतानि कौन्तेय प्रकृतिं यान्ति मामिकाम् ।
कल्पक्षये पुनस्तानि कल्पादौ विसृजाम्यहम् ॥७
प्रकृतिं स्वामवष्टभ्य विसृजामि पुनः पुनः ।
भूतग्राममिमं कृत्स्नमवशं प्रकृतेर्वशात् ॥८
न च मां तानि कर्माणि निबध्नन्ति धनंजय ।
उदासीनवदासीनमसक्तं तेषु कर्मसु ॥९
मयाध्यक्षेण प्रकृतिः सूयते सचराचरम् ।
हेतुनानेन कौन्तेय जगद्विपरिवर्तते ॥१०
अवजानन्ति मां मूढा मानुषीं तनुमाश्रितम् ।
परं भावमजानन्तो मम भूतमहेश्वरम् ॥११
मोघाशा मोघकर्माणो मोघज्ञाना विचेतसः ।
राक्षसीमासुरीं चैव प्रकृतिं मोहिनीं श्रिताः ॥१२

महात्मानस्तु मां पार्थ दैवीं प्रकृतिमाश्रिताः ।
भजन्त्यनन्यमनसो ज्ञात्वा भूतादिमव्ययम् ॥१३
सततं कीर्तयन्तो मां यतन्तश्च दृढव्रताः ।
नमस्यन्तश्च मां भक्त्या नित्ययुक्ता उपासते ॥१४
ज्ञानयज्ञेन चाप्यन्ये यजन्तो मामुपासते ।
एकत्वेन पृथक्त्वेन बहुधा विश्वतोमुखम् ॥१५
अहं क्रतुरहं यज्ञः स्वधाहमहमौषधम् ।
मन्त्रोऽहमहमेवाज्यमहमग्निरहं हुतम् ॥१६
पिताहमस्य जगतो माता धाता पितामहः ।
वेद्यं पवित्रमोंकार ऋक् साम यजुरेव च ॥१७
गतिर्भर्ता प्रभुः साक्षी निवासः शरणं सुहृत् ।
प्रभवः प्रलयः स्थानं निधानं बीजमव्ययम् ॥१८
तपाम्यहमहं वर्षं निगृह्णाम्युत्सृजामि च ।
अमृतं चैव मृत्युश्च सदसच्चाहमर्जुन ॥१९
त्रैविद्या मां सोमपाः पूतपापा यज्ञैरिष्ट्वा स्वर्गतिं प्रार्थयन्ते ।
ते पुण्यमासाद्य सुरेन्द्रलोकमश्नन्ति दिव्यान्दिवि देवभोगान्॥ २०
ते तं भुक्त्वा स्वर्गलोकं विशालं क्षीणे पुण्ये मर्त्यलोकं विशन्ति ।
एवं त्रयीधर्ममनुप्रपन्ना गतागतं कामकामा लभन्ते ॥२१
अनन्याश्चिन्तयन्तो मां ये जनाः पर्युपासते ।
तेषां नित्याभियुक्तानां योगक्षेमं वहाम्यहम् ॥२२
येऽप्यन्यदेवता भक्ता यजन्ते श्रद्धयान्विताः ।
तेऽपि मामेव कौन्तेय यजन्त्यविधिपूर्वकम् ॥२३
अहं हि सर्वयज्ञानां भोक्ता च प्रभुरेव च ।
न तु मामभिजानन्ति तत्त्वेनातश्च्यवन्ति ते ॥२४
यान्ति देवव्रता देवान् पितॄन् यान्ति पितृव्रताः ।
भूतानि यान्ति भूतेज्या यान्ति मद्याजिनोऽपि माम् ॥२५
पत्रं पुष्पं फलं तोयं यो मे भक्त्या प्रयच्छति ।
तदहं भक्त्युपहृतमश्नामि प्रयतात्मनः ॥२६
यत् करोषि यदश्नासि यज्जुहोषि ददासि यत् ।
यत् तपस्यसि कौन्तेय तत् कुरुष्व मदर्पणम् ॥२७
शुभाशुभफलैरेवं मोक्ष्यसे कर्मबन्धनैः ।
संन्यासयोगयुक्तात्मा विमुक्तो मामुपैष्यसि ॥२८
समोऽहं सर्वभूतेषु न मे द्वेष्योऽस्ति न प्रियः ।
ये भजन्ति तु मां भक्त्या मयि ते तेषु चाप्यहम् ॥२९
अपि चेत् सुदुराचारो भजते मामनन्यभाक् ।
साधुरेव स मन्तव्यः सम्यग्व्यवसितो हि सः ॥३०
क्षिप्रं भवति धर्मात्मा शश्वच्छान्तिं निगच्छति ।
कौन्तेय प्रतिजानीहि न मे भक्तः प्रणश्यति ॥३१
मां हि पार्थ व्यपाश्रित्य येऽपि स्युः पापयोनयः ।
स्त्रियो वैश्यास्तथा शूद्रास्तेऽपि यान्ति परां गतिम् ॥३२
किं पुनर्ब्राह्मणाः पुण्या भक्ता राजर्षयस्तथा ।
अनित्यमसुखं लोकमिमं प्राप्य भजस्व माम् ॥३३
मन्मना भव मद्भक्तो मद्याजी मां नमस्कुरु ।
मामेवैष्यसि युक्त्वैवमात्मानं मत्परायणः ॥३४

१०. विभूतियोगः

श्रीभगवान्—भूय एव महाबाहो शृणु मे परमं वचः ।
यत् तेऽहं प्रीयमाणाय वक्ष्यामि हितकाम्यया ॥१
न मे विदुः सुरगणाः प्रभवं न महर्षयः ।
अहमादिर्हि देवानां महर्षीणां च सर्वशः ॥२
यो मामजमनादिं च वेत्ति लोकमहेश्वरम् ।
असंमूढः स मर्त्येषु सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥३
बुद्धिर्ज्ञानमसंमोहः क्षमा सत्यं दमः शमः ।
सुखं दुःखं भवोऽभावो भयं चाभयमेव च ॥४
अहिंसा समता तुष्टिस्तपो दानं यशोऽयशः ।
भवन्ति भावा भूतानां मत्त एव पृथग्विधाः ॥५
महर्षयः सप्त पूर्वे चत्वारो मनवस्तथा ।
मद्भावा मानसा जाता येषां लोक इमाः प्रजाः ॥६
एतां विभूतिं योगं च मम यो वेत्ति तत्त्वतः ।
सोऽविकम्पेन योगेन युज्यते नात्र संशयः ॥७
अहं सर्वस्य प्रभवो मत्तः सर्वं प्रवर्तते ।
इति मत्वा भजन्ते मां बुधा भावसमन्विताः ॥८
मच्चित्ता मद्गतप्राणा बोधयन्तः परस्परम् ।
कथयन्तश्च मां नित्यं तुष्यन्ति च रमन्ति च ॥९
तेषां सततयुक्तानां भजतां प्रीतिपूर्वकम् ।
ददामि बुद्धियोगं तं येन मामुपयान्ति ते ॥१०
तेषामेवानुकम्पार्थमहमज्ञानजं तमः ।
नाशयाम्यात्मभावस्थो ज्ञानदीपेन भास्वता ॥११
अर्जुन—परं ब्रह्म परं धाम पवित्रं परमं भवान् ।
पुरुषं शाश्वतं दिव्यमादिदेवमजं विभुम् ॥१२
आहुस्त्वामृषयः सर्वे देवर्षिर्नारदस्तथा ।
असितो देवलो व्यासः स्वयं चैव ब्रवीषि मे ॥१३
सर्वमेतदृतं मन्ये यन्मां वदसि केशव ।
न हि ते भगवन् व्यक्तिं विदुर्देवा न दानवाः ॥१४
स्वयमेवात्मनात्मानं वेत्थ त्वं पुरुषोत्तम ।
भूतभावन भूतेश देवदेव जगत्पते ॥१५
वक्तुमर्हस्यशेषेण दिव्या ह्यात्मविभूतयः ।
याभिर्विभूतिभिर्लोकानिमांस्त्वं व्याप्य तिष्ठसि ॥१६
कथं विद्यामहं योगिंस्त्वां सदा परिचिन्तयन् ।
केषु केषु च भावेषु चिन्त्योऽसि भगवन्मया ॥१७
विस्तरेणात्मनो योगं विभूतिं च जनार्दन ।
भूयः कथय तृप्तिर्हि शृण्वतो नास्ति मेऽमृतम् ॥१८
श्रीभगवान्—हन्त ते कथयिष्यामि दिव्या ह्यात्मविभूतयः ।
प्राधान्यतः कुरुश्रेष्ठ नास्त्यन्तो विस्तरस्य मे ॥१९
अहमात्मा गुडाकेश सर्वभूताशयस्थितः ।
अहमादिश्च मध्यं च भूतानामन्त एव च ॥२०

आदित्यानामहं विष्णुर्ज्योतिषां रविरंशुमान् ।
मरीचिर्मरुतामस्मि नक्षत्राणामहं शशी ॥२१
वेदानां सामवेदोऽस्मि देवानामस्मि वासवः ।
इन्द्रियाणां मनश्चास्मि भूतानामस्मि चेतना ॥२२
रुद्राणां शंकरश्चास्मि वित्तेशो यक्षरक्षसाम् ।
वसूनां पावकश्चास्मि मेरुः शिखरिणामहम् ॥२३
पुरोधसां च मुख्यं मां विद्धि पार्थ बृहस्पतिम् ।
सेनानीनामहं स्कन्दः सरसामस्मि सागरः ॥२४
महर्षीणां भृगुरहं गिरामस्म्येकमक्षरम् ।
यज्ञानां जपयज्ञोऽस्मि स्थावराणां हिमालयः ॥२५
अश्वत्थः सर्ववृक्षाणां देवर्षीणां च नारदः ।
गन्धर्वाणां चित्ररथः सिद्धानां कपिलो मुनिः ॥२६
उच्चैःश्रवसमश्वानां विद्धि माममृतोद्भवम् ।
ऐरावतं गजेन्द्राणां नराणां च नराधिपम् ॥२७
आयुधानामहं वज्रं धेनूनामस्मि कामधुक् ।
प्रजनश्चास्मि कन्दर्पः सर्पाणामस्मि वासुकिः ॥२८
अनन्तश्चास्मि नागानां वरुणो यादसामहम् ।
पितॄणामर्यमा चास्मि यमः संयमतामहम् ॥२९
प्रह्लादश्चास्मि दैत्यानां कालः कलयतामहम् ।
मृगाणां च मृगेन्द्रोऽहं वैनतेयश्च पक्षिणाम् ॥३०
पवनः पवतामस्मि रामः शस्त्रभृतामहम् ।
झषाणां मकरश्चास्मि स्रोतसामस्मि जाह्नवी ॥३१
सर्गाणामादिरन्तश्च मध्यं चैवाहमर्जुन ।
अध्यात्मविद्या विद्यानां वादः प्रवदतामहम् ॥३२
अक्षराणामकारोऽस्मि द्वन्द्वः सामासिकस्य च ।
अहमेवाक्षयः कालो धाताहं विश्वतोमुखः ॥३३
मृत्युः सर्वहरश्चाहमुद्भवश्च भविष्यताम् ।
कीर्तिः श्रीर्वाक्च नारीणां स्मृतिर्मेधा धृतिः क्षमा ॥३४
बृहत्साम तथा साम्नां गायत्री छन्दसामहम् ।
मासानां मार्गशीर्षोऽहमृतूनां कुसुमाकरः ॥३५
द्यूतं छलयतामस्मि तेजस्तेजस्विनामहम् ।
जयोऽस्मि व्यवसायोऽस्मि सत्त्वं सत्त्ववतामहम् ॥३६
वृष्णीनां वासुदेवोऽस्मि पाण्डवानां धनंजयः ।
मुनीनामप्यहं व्यासः कवीनामुशना कविः ॥३७
दण्डो दमयतामस्मि नीतिरस्मि जिगीषताम् ।
मौनं चैवास्मि गुह्यानां ज्ञानं ज्ञानवतामहम् ॥३८
यच्चापि सर्वभूतानां बीजं तदहमर्जुन ।
न तदस्ति विना यत्स्यान्मया भूतं चराचरम् ॥३९
नान्तोऽस्ति मम दिव्यानां विभूतीनां परंतप ।
एष तूद्देशतः प्रोक्तो विभूतेर्विस्तरो मया ॥४०
यद्यद्विभूतिमत् सत्त्वं श्रीमदूर्जितमेव वा ।
तत्तदेवावगच्छ त्वं मम तेजोंऽशसंभवम् ॥४१
अथवा बहुनैतेन किं ज्ञातेन तवार्जुन ।
विष्टभ्याहमिदं कृत्स्नमेकांशेन स्थितो जगत् ॥४२

११ विश्वरूपदर्शनयोगः

अर्जुन—मदनुग्रहाय परमं गुह्यमध्यात्मसंज्ञितम् ।
यत् त्वयोक्तं वचस्तेन मोहोऽयं विगतो मम ॥१
भवाप्ययौ हि भूतानां श्रुतौ विस्तरशो मया ।
त्वत्तः कमलपत्राक्ष माहात्म्यमपि चाव्ययम् ॥२
एवमेतद्यथात्थ त्वमात्मानं परमेश्वर ।
द्रष्टुमिच्छामि ते रूपमैश्वरं पुरुषोत्तम ॥३
मन्यसे यदि तच्छक्यं मया द्रष्टुमिति प्रभो ।
योगेश्वर ततो मे त्वं दर्शयात्मानमव्ययम् ॥४

श्रीभगवान्—पश्य मे पार्थ रूपाणि शतशोऽथ सहस्रशः ।
नानाविधानि दिव्यानि नानावर्णाकृतीनि च ॥५
पश्यादित्यान् वसून् रुद्रानश्विनौ मरुतस्तथा ।
बहून्यदृष्टपूर्वाणि पश्याश्चर्याणि भारत ॥६
इहैकस्थं जगत् कृत्स्नं पश्याद्य सचराचरम् ।
मम देहे गुडाकेश यच्चान्यद्द्रष्टुमिच्छसि ॥७
न तु मां शक्यसे द्रष्टुमनेनैव स्वचक्षुषा ।
दिव्यं ददामि ते चक्षुः पश्य मे योगमैश्वरम् ॥८

संजय—एवमुक्त्वा ततो राजन् महायोगेश्वरो हरिः ।
दर्शयामास पार्थाय परमं रूपमैश्वरम् ॥९
अनेकवक्त्रनयनमनेकाद्भुतदर्शनम् ।
अनेकदिव्याभरणं दिव्यानेकोद्यतायुधम् ॥१०
दिव्यमाल्याम्बरधरं दिव्यगन्धानुलेपनम् ।
सर्वाश्चर्यमयं देवमनन्तं विश्वतोमुखम् ॥११
दिवि सूर्यसहस्रस्य भवेद्युगपदुत्थिता ।
यदि भाः सदृशी सा स्याद्भासस्तस्य महात्मनः ॥१२
तत्रैकस्थं जगत्कृत्स्नं प्रविभक्तमनेकधा ।
अपश्यद्देवदेवस्य शरीरे पाण्डवस्तदा ॥१३
ततः स विस्मयाविष्टो हृष्टरोमा धनंजयः ।
प्रणम्य शिरसा देवं कृताञ्जलिरभाषत ॥१४

अर्जुन—पश्यामि देवांस्तव देव देहे सर्वांस्तथा भूतविशेषसङ्घान् ।
ब्रह्माणमीशं कमलासनस्थमृषींश्च सर्वानुरगांश्च दिव्यान् ॥१५
अनेकबाहूदरवक्त्रनेत्रं पश्यामि त्वां सर्वतोऽनन्तरूपम् ।
नान्तं न मध्यं न पुनस्तवादिं पश्यामि विश्वेश्वर विश्वरूप ॥१६
किरीटिनं गदिनं चक्रिणं च तेजोराशिं सर्वतो दीप्तिमन्तम् ।
पश्यामि त्वां दुर्निरीक्ष्यं समन्ताद्दीप्तानलार्कद्युतिमप्रमेयम् ॥१७
त्वमक्षरं परमं वेदितव्यं त्वमस्य विश्वस्य परं निधानम् ।
त्वमव्ययः शाश्वतधर्मगोप्ता सनातनस्त्वं पुरुषो मतो मे ॥१८
अनादिमध्यान्तमनन्तवीर्यमनन्तबाहुं शशिसूर्यनेत्रम् ।
पश्यामि त्वां दीप्तहुताशवक्त्रं स्वतेजसा विश्वमिदं तपन्तम् ॥१९
द्यावापृथिव्योरिदमन्तरं हि व्याप्तं त्वयैकेन दिशश्च सर्वाः ।
दृष्ट्वाद्भुतं रूपमुग्रं तवेदं लोकत्रयं प्रव्यथितं महात्मन् ॥२०

अमी हि त्वां सुरसङ्घा विशन्ति केचिद्भीताः प्राञ्जलयो गृणन्ति
स्वस्तीत्युक्त्वा महर्षिसिद्धसङ्घाः स्तुवन्ति त्वां स्तुतिभिःपुष्कलाभिः
रुद्रादित्या वसवो ये च साध्या विश्वेऽश्विनौ मरुतश्चोष्मपाश्च ।
गन्धर्वयक्षासुरसिद्धसङ्घा वीक्षन्ते त्वां विस्मिताश्चैव सर्वे ।।२२
रूपं महत् ते बहुवक्त्रनेत्रं महाबाहो बहुबाहूरुपादम् ।
बहूदरं बहुदंष्ट्राकरालं दृष्ट्वा लोकाः प्रव्यथितास्तथाहम् ।।२३
नभःस्पृशं दीप्तमनेकवर्णं व्यात्ताननं दीप्तविशालनेत्रम् ।
दृष्ट्वा हि त्वां प्रव्यथितान्तरात्मा धृतिं न विन्दामि शमं च विष्णो ।
दंष्ट्राकरालानि च ते मुखानि दृष्ट्वैव कालानलसंनिभानि ।
दिशो न जाने न लभे च शर्म प्रसीद देवेश जगन्निवास ।।२५
अमी च त्वां धृतराष्ट्रस्य पुत्राः सर्वे सहैवावनिपालसङ्घैः ।
भीष्मो द्रोणः सूतपुत्रस्तथासौ सहास्मदीयैरपि योधमुख्यैः ।।२६
वक्त्राणि ते त्वरमाणा विशन्ति दंष्ट्राकरालानि भयानकानि ।
केचिद्विलग्ना दशनान्तरेषु संदृश्यन्ते चूर्णितैरुत्तमाङ्गैः ।।२७
यथा नदीनां बहवोऽम्बुवेगाः समुद्रमेवाभिमुखा द्रवन्ति ।
तथा तवामी नरलोकवीरा विशन्ति वक्त्राण्यभिविज्वलन्ति ।।२८
यथा प्रदीप्तं ज्वलनं पतङ्गा विशन्ति नाशाय समृद्धवेगाः ।
तथैव नाशाय विशन्ति लोकास्तवापि वक्त्राणि समृद्धवेगाः ।।२९
लेलिह्यसे ग्रसमानः समन्ताल्लोकान् समग्रान् वदनैर्ज्वलद्भिः ।
तेजोभिरापूर्य जगत् समग्रं भासस्तवोग्राः प्रतपन्ति विष्णो ।।३०
आख्याहि मे को भवानुग्ररूपो नमोऽस्तु ते देववर प्रसीद ।
विज्ञातुमिच्छामि भवन्तमाद्यं न हि प्रजानामि तव प्रवृत्तिम् ।।३१

श्रीभगवान्—कालोऽस्मि लोकक्षयकृत् प्रवृद्धो
लोकान् समाहर्तुमिह प्रवृत्तः ।
ऋतेऽपि त्वां न भविष्यन्ति सर्वे येऽवस्थिताः प्रत्यनीकेषु योधाः ।।
तस्मात् त्वमुत्तिष्ठ यशो लभस्व जित्वा शत्रून् भुङ्क्ष्व राज्यं समृद्धम्
मयैवैते निहताः पूर्वमेव निमित्तमात्रं भव सव्यसाचिन् ।।३३
द्रोणं च भीष्मं च जयद्रथं च कर्णं तथान्यानपि योधवीरान् ।
मया हतांस्त्वं जहि मा व्यथिष्ठा युध्यस्व जेतासि रणे सपत्नान् ।।
संजय—एतच्छ्रुत्वा वचनं केशवस्य कृताञ्जलिर्वेपमानः किरीटी ।
नमस्कृत्वा भूय एवाह कृष्णं सगद्गदं भीतभीतः प्रणम्य ।।३५
अर्जुन—स्थाने हृषीकेश तव प्रकीर्त्या जगत् प्रहृष्यत्यनुरज्यते च ।
रक्षांसि भीतानि दिशो द्रवन्ति सर्वे नमस्यन्ति च सिद्धसङ्घाः ।।३६
कस्माच्च ते न नमेरन् महात्मन् गरीयसे ब्रह्मणोऽप्यादिकर्त्रे
अनन्त देवेश जगन्निवास त्वमक्षरं सदसत् तत्परं यत् ।।३७
त्वमादिदेवः पुरुषः पुराणस्त्वमस्य विश्वस्य परं निधानम् ।
वेत्तासि वेद्यं च परं च धाम त्वया ततं विश्वमनन्तरूप ।।३८
वायुर्यमोऽग्निर्वरुणः शशाङ्कः प्रजापतिस्त्वं प्रपितामहश्च ।
नमो नमस्तेऽस्तु सहस्रकृत्वः पुनश्च भूयोऽपि नमो नमस्ते ।।३९
नमः पुरस्तादथ पृष्ठतस्ते नमोऽस्तु ते सर्वत एव सर्व ।
अनन्तवीर्यामितविक्रमस्त्वं सर्वं समाप्नोषि ततोऽसि सर्वः ।।४०
सखेति मत्वा प्रसभं यदुक्तं हे कृष्ण हे यादव हे सखेति ।
अजानता महिमानं तवेदं मया प्रमादात् प्रणयेन वापि ।।४१

यच्चावहासार्थमसत्कृतोऽसि विहारशय्यासनभोजनेषु ।
एकोऽथवाप्यच्युत तत् समक्षं तत् क्षामये त्वामहमप्रमेयम् ।।४२
पितासि लोकस्य चराचरस्य त्वमस्य पूज्यश्च गुरुर्गरीयान् ।
न त्वत्समोऽस्त्यभ्यधिकः कुतोऽन्यो लोकत्रयेऽप्यप्रतिमप्रभावः ।।
तस्मात् प्रणम्य प्रणिधाय कायं प्रसादये त्वामहमीशमीड्यम् ।
पितेव पुत्रस्य सखेव सख्युः प्रियः प्रियायार्हसि देव सोढुम् ।।४४
अदृष्टपूर्वं हृषितोऽस्मि दृष्ट्वा भयेन च प्रव्यथितं मनो मे ।
तदेव मे दर्शय देव रूपं प्रसीद देवेश जगन्निवास ।।४५
किरीटिनं गदिनं चक्रहस्तमिच्छामि त्वां द्रष्टुमहं तथैव ।
तेनैव रूपेण चतुर्भुजेन सहस्रबाहो भव विश्वमूर्ते ।।४६
श्रीभगवान्—मया प्रसन्नेन तवार्जुनेदं रूपं परं दर्शितमात्मयोगात् ।
तेजोमयं विश्वमनन्तमाद्यं यन्मे त्वदन्येन न दृष्टपूर्वम् ।।४७
न वेदयज्ञाध्ययनैर्न दानैर्न च क्रियाभिर्न तपोभिरुग्रैः ।
एवंरूपः शक्य अहं नृलोके द्रष्टुं त्वदन्येन कुरुप्रवीर ।।४८
मा ते व्यथा मा च विमूढभावो दृष्ट्वा रूपं घोरमीदृङ्ममेदम् ।
व्यपेतभीः प्रीतमनाः पुनस्त्वं तदेव मे रूपमिदं प्रपश्य ।।४९
संजय—इत्यर्जुनं वासुदेवस्तथोक्त्वा स्वकं रूपं दर्शयामास भूयः ।
आश्वासयामास च भीतमेनं भूत्वा पुनः सौम्यवपुर्महात्मा ।।५०
अर्जुन—दृष्ट्वेदं मानुषं रूपं तव सौम्यं जनार्दन ।
इदानीमस्मि संवृत्तः सचेताः प्रकृतिं गतः ।।५१
श्रीभगवान्—सुदुर्दर्शमिदं रूपं दृष्टवानसि यन्मम ।
देवा अप्यस्य रूपस्य नित्यं दर्शनकाङ्क्षिणः ।।५२
नाहं वेदैर्न तपसा न दानेन न चेज्यया ।
शक्य एवंविधो द्रष्टुं दृष्टवानसि मां यथा ।।५३
भक्त्या त्वनन्यया शक्य अहमेवंविधोऽर्जुन ।
ज्ञातुं द्रष्टुं च तत्त्वेन प्रवेष्टुं च परंतप ।।५४
मत्कर्मकृन्मत्परमो मद्भक्तः सङ्गवर्जितः ।
निर्वैरः सर्वभूतेषु यः स मामेति पाण्डव ।।५५

१२. भक्तियोगः

अर्जुन—एवं सततयुक्ता ये भक्तास्त्वां पर्युपासते ।
ये चाप्यक्षरमव्यक्तं तेषां के योगवित्तमाः ।।१
श्रीभगवान्—मय्यावेश्य मनो ये मां नित्ययुक्ता उपासते ।
श्रद्धया परयोपेतास्ते मे युक्ततमा मताः ।।२
ये त्वक्षरमनिर्देश्यमव्यक्तं पर्युपासते ।
सर्वत्रगमचिन्त्यं च कूटस्थमचलं ध्रुवम् ।।३
संनियम्येन्द्रियग्रामं सर्वत्र समबुद्धयः ।
ते प्राप्नुवन्ति मामेव सर्वभूतहिते रताः ।।४
क्लेशोऽधिकतरस्तेषामव्यक्तासक्तचेतसाम् ।
अव्यक्ता हि गतिर्दुःखं देहवद्भिरवाप्यते ।।५
ये तु सर्वाणि कर्माणि मयि संन्यस्य मत्पराः ।
अनन्येनैव योगेन मां ध्यायन्त उपासते ।।६

तेषामहं समुद्धर्ता मृत्युसंसारसागरात् ।
भवामि न चिरात् पार्थ मय्यावेशितचेतसाम् ।।७
मय्येव मन आधत्स्व मयि बुद्धिं निवेशय ।
निवसिष्यसि मय्येव अत ऊर्ध्वं न संशयः ।।८
अथ चित्तं समाधातुं न शक्नोषि मयि स्थिरम् ।
अभ्यासयोगेन ततो मामिच्छाप्तुं धनंजय ।।९
अभ्यासेऽप्यसमर्थोऽसि मत्कर्मपरमो भव ।
मदर्थमपि कर्माणि कुर्वन् सिद्धिमवाप्स्यसि ।।१०
अथैतदप्यशक्तोऽसि कर्तुं मद्योगमाश्रितः ।
सर्वकर्मफलत्यागं ततः कुरु यतात्मवान् ।।११
श्रेयो हि ज्ञानमभ्यासाज्ज्ञानाद्ध्यानं विशिष्यते ।
ध्यानात् कर्मफलत्यागस्त्यागाच्छान्तिरनन्तरम् ।।१२
अद्वेष्टा सर्वभूतानां मैत्रः करुण एव च ।
निर्ममो निरहंकारः समदुःखसुखः क्षमी ।।१३
संतुष्टः सततं योगी यतात्मा दृढनिश्चयः ।
मय्यर्पितमनोबुद्धिर्यो मद्भक्तः स मे प्रियः ।।१४
यस्मान्नोद्विजते लोको लोकान्नोद्विजते च यः ।
हर्षामर्षभयोद्वेगैर्मुक्तो यः स च मे प्रियः ।।१५
अनपेक्षः शुचिर्दक्ष उदासीनो गतव्यथः ।
सर्वारम्भपरित्यागी यो मद्भक्तः स मे प्रियः ।।१६
यो न हृष्यति न द्वेष्टि न शोचति न काङ्क्षति ।
शुभाशुभपरित्यागी भक्तिमान् यः स मे प्रियः ।।१७
समः शत्रौ च मित्रे च तथा मानापमानयोः ।
शीतोष्णसुखदुःखेषु समः सङ्गविवर्जितः ।।१८
तुल्यनिन्दास्तुतिर्मौनी संतुष्टो येनकेनचित् ।
अनिकेतः स्थिरमतिर्भक्तिमान् मे प्रियो नरः ।।१९
ये तु धर्म्यामृतमिदं यथोक्तं पर्युपासते ।
श्रद्दधाना मत्परमा भक्तास्तेऽतीव मे प्रियाः ।।२०

१३. क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञविभागयोगः

श्रीभगवान्—इदं शरीरं कौन्तेय क्षेत्रमित्यभिधीयते ।
एतद्यो वेत्ति तं प्राहुः क्षेत्रज्ञ इति तद्विदः ।।१
क्षेत्रज्ञं चापि मां विद्धि सर्वक्षेत्रेषु भारत ।
क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञयोर्ज्ञानं यत् तज्ज्ञानं मतं मम ।।२
तत् क्षेत्रं यच्च यादृक् च यद्विकारि यतश्च यत् ।
स च यो यत्प्रभावश्च तत् समासेन मे शृणु ।।३
ऋषिभिर्बहुधा गीतं छन्दोभिर्विविधैः पृथक् ।
ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैश्चैव हेतुमद्भिर्विनिश्चितैः ।।४
महाभूतान्यहंकारो बुद्धिरव्यक्तमेव च ।
इन्द्रियाणि दशैकं च पञ्च चेन्द्रियगोचराः ।।५
इच्छा द्वेषः सुखं दुःखं संघातश्चेतना धृतिः ।
एतत् क्षेत्रं समासेन सविकारमुदाहृतम् ।।६

अमानित्वमदम्भित्वमहिंसा क्षान्तिरार्जवम् ।
आचार्योपासनं शौचं स्थैर्यमात्मविनिग्रहः ।।७
इन्द्रियार्थेषु वैराग्यमनहंकार एव च ।
जन्ममृत्युजराव्याधिदुःखदोषानुदर्शनम् ।।८
असक्तिरनभिष्वङ्गः पुत्रदारगृहादिषु ।
नित्यं च समचित्तत्वमिष्टानिष्टोपपत्तिषु ।।९
मयि चानन्ययोगेन भक्तिरव्यभिचारिणी ।
विविक्तदेशसेवित्वमरतिर्जनसंसदि ।।१०
अध्यात्मज्ञाननित्यत्वं तत्त्वज्ञानार्थदर्शनम् ।
एतज्ज्ञानमिति प्रोक्तमज्ञानं यदतोऽन्यथा ।।११
ज्ञेयं यत् तत् प्रवक्ष्यामि यज्ज्ञात्वामृतमश्नुते ।
अनादिमत् परं ब्रह्म न सत् तन्नासदुच्यते ।।१२
सर्वतः पाणिपादं तत् सर्वतोऽक्षिशिरोमुखम् ।
सर्वतः श्रुतिमल्लोके सर्वमावृत्य तिष्ठति ।।१३
सर्वेन्द्रियगुणाभासं सर्वेन्द्रियविवर्जितम् ।
असक्तं सर्वभृच्चैव निर्गुणं गुणभोक्तृ च ।।१४
बहिरन्तश्च भूतानामचरं चरमेव च ।
सूक्ष्मत्वात् तदविज्ञेयं दूरस्थं चान्तिके च तत् ।।१५
अविभक्तं च भूतेषु विभक्तमिव च स्थितम् ।
भूतभर्तृ च तज्ज्ञेयं ग्रसिष्णु प्रभविष्णु च ।।१६
ज्योतिषामपि तज्ज्योतिस्तमसः परमुच्यते ।
ज्ञानं ज्ञेयं ज्ञानगम्यं हृदि सर्वस्य धिष्ठितम् ।।१७

इति क्षेत्रं तथा ज्ञानं ज्ञेयं चोक्तं समासतः ।
मद्भक्त एतद्विज्ञाय मद्भावायोपपद्यते ।।१८
प्रकृतिं पुरुषं चैव विद्ध्यनादी उभावपि ।
विकारांश्च गुणांश्चैव विद्धि प्रकृतिसंभवान् ।।१९
कार्यकरणकर्तृत्वे हेतुः प्रकृतिरुच्यते ।
पुरुषः सुखदुःखानां भोक्तृत्वे हेतुरुच्यते ।।२०
पुरुषः प्रकृतिस्थो हि भुङ्क्ते प्रकृतिजान् गुणान् ।
कारणं गुणसङ्गोऽस्य सदसद्योनिजन्मसु ।।२१
उपद्रष्टानुमन्ता च भर्ता भोक्ता महेश्वरः ।
परमात्मेति चाप्युक्तो देहेऽस्मिन् पुरुषः परः ।।२२
य एवं वेत्ति पुरुषं प्रकृतिं च गुणैः सह ।
सर्वथा वर्तमानोऽपि न स भूयोऽभिजायते ।।२३
ध्यानेनात्मनि पश्यन्ति केचिदात्मानमात्मना ।
अन्ये सांख्येन योगेन कर्मयोगेण चापरे ।।२४
अन्ये त्वेवमजानन्तः श्रुत्वान्येभ्य उपासते ।
तेऽपि चातितरन्त्येव मृत्युं श्रुतिपरायणाः ।।२५
यावत् संजायते किंचित् सत्त्वं स्थावरजङ्गमम्
क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञसंयोगात् तद्विद्धि भरतर्षभ ।।२६
समं सर्वेषु भूतेषु तिष्ठन्तं परमेश्वरम् ।
विनश्यत्स्वविनश्यन्तं यः पश्यति स पश्यति ।।२७
समं पश्यन् हि सर्वत्र समवस्थितमीश्वरम् ।
न हिनस्त्यात्मनात्मानं ततो याति परां गतिम् ।।२८

प्रकृत्यैव च कर्माणि क्रियमाणानि सर्वशः ।
यः पश्यति तथात्मानमकर्तारं स पश्यति ॥२९
यदा भूतपृथग्भावमेकस्थमनुपश्यति ।
तत एव च विस्तारं ब्रह्म संपद्यते तदा ॥३०
अनादित्वान्निर्गुणत्वात् परमात्मायमव्ययः ।
शरीरस्थोऽपि कौन्तेय न करोति न लिप्यते ॥३१
यथा सर्वगतं सौक्ष्म्यादाकाशं नोपलिप्यते ।
सर्वत्रावस्थितो देहे तथात्मा नोपलिप्यते ॥३२
यथाप्रकाशयत्येकः कृत्स्नं लोकमिमं रविः ।
क्षेत्रं क्षेत्री तथा कृत्स्नं प्रकाशयति भारत ॥३३
क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञयोरेवमन्तरं ज्ञानचक्षुषा ।
भूतप्रकृतिमोक्षं च ये विदुर्यान्ति ते परम् ॥३४

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१४. गुणत्रयविभागयोगः

श्रीभगवान्—परं भूयः प्रवक्ष्यामि ज्ञानानां ज्ञानमुत्तमम् ।
यज्ज्ञात्वा मुनयः सर्वे परां सिद्धिमितो गताः ॥ १
इदं ज्ञानमुपाश्रित्य मम साधर्म्यमागताः ।
सर्गेऽपि नोपजायन्ते प्रलये न व्यथन्ति च ॥२
मम योनिर्महद्ब्रह्म तस्मिन् गर्भं दधाम्यहम् ।
संभवः सर्वभूतानां ततो भवति भारत ॥३
सर्वयोनिषु कौन्तेय मूर्तयः संभवन्ति याः ।
तासां ब्रह्म महद्योनिरहं बीजप्रदः पिता ॥४
सत्त्वं रजस्तम इति गुणाः प्रकृतिसंभवाः ।
निबध्नन्ति महाबाहो देहे देहिनमव्ययम् ॥५
तत्र सत्त्वं निर्मलत्वात् प्रकाशकमनामयम् ।
सुखसङ्गेन बध्नाति ज्ञानसङ्गेन चानघ ॥६
रजो रागात्मकं विद्धि तृष्णासङ्गसमुद्भवम् ।
तन्निबध्नाति कौन्तेय कर्मसङ्गेन देहिनम् ॥७
तमस्त्वज्ञानजं विद्धि मोहनं सर्वदेहिनाम् ।
प्रमादालस्यनिद्राभिस्तन्निबध्नाति भारत ॥८
सत्त्वं सुखे सञ्जयति रजः कर्मणि भारत ।
ज्ञानमावृत्य तु तमः प्रमादे सञ्जयत्युत ॥९
रजस्तमश्चाभिभूय सत्त्वं भवति भारत ।
रजः सत्त्वं तमश्चैव तमः सत्त्वं रजस्तथा ॥१०
सर्वद्वारेषु देहेऽस्मिन् प्रकाश उपजायते ।
ज्ञानं यदा तदा विद्याद्विवृद्धं सत्त्वमित्युत ॥११
लोभः प्रवृत्तिरारम्भः कर्मणामशमः स्पृहा ।
रजस्येतानि जायन्ते विवृद्धे भरतर्षभ ॥१२
अप्रकाशोऽप्रवृत्तिश्च प्रमादो मोह एव च ।
तमस्येतानि जायन्ते विवृद्धे कुरुनन्दन ॥१३
यदा सत्त्वे प्रवृद्धे तु प्रलयं याति देहभृत् ।
तदोत्तमविदां लोकानमलान् प्रतिपद्यते ॥१४

रजसि प्रलयं गत्वा कर्मसङ्गिषु जायते ।
तथा प्रलीनस्तमसि मूढयोनिषु जायते ॥१५
कर्मणः सुकृतस्याहुः सात्त्विकं निर्मलं फलम् ।
रजसस्तु फलं दुःखमज्ञानं तमसः फलम् ॥१६
सत्त्वात् संजायते ज्ञानं रजसो लोभ एव च ।
प्रमादमोहौ तमसो भवतोऽज्ञानमेव च ॥१७
ऊर्ध्वं गच्छन्ति सत्त्वस्था मध्ये तिष्ठन्ति राजसाः ।
जघन्यगुणवृत्तिस्था अधो गच्छन्ति तामसाः ॥१८

नान्यं गुणेभ्यः कर्तारं यदा द्रष्टानुपश्यति ।
गुणेभ्यश्च परं वेत्ति मद्भावं सोऽधिगच्छति ॥१९
गुणानेतानतीत्य त्रीन् देही देहसमुद्भवान् ।
जन्ममृत्युजरादुःखैर्विमुक्तोऽमृतमश्नुते ॥२०

अर्जुन—कैर्लिङ्गैस्त्रीन् गुणानेतानतीतो भवति प्रभो ।
किमाचारः कथं चैतांस्त्रीन् गुणानतिवर्तते ॥२१

श्रीभगवान्—प्रकाशं च प्रवृत्तिं च मोहमेव च पाण्डव ।
न द्वेष्टि संप्रवृत्तानि न निवृत्तानि काङ्क्षति ॥२२
उदासीनवदासीनो गुणैर्यो न विचाल्यते ।
गुणा वर्तन्त इत्येव योऽवतिष्ठति नेङ्गते ॥२३
समदुःखसुखः स्वस्थः समलोष्टाश्मकाञ्चनः ।
तुल्यप्रियाप्रियो धीरस्तुल्यनिन्दात्मसंस्तुतिः ॥२४
मानापमानयोस्तुल्यस्तुल्यो मित्रारिपक्षयोः ।
सर्वारम्भपरित्यागी गुणातीतः स उच्यते ॥२५
मां च योऽव्यभिचारेण भक्तियोगेन सेवते ।
स गुणान् समतीत्यैतान् ब्रह्मभूयाय कल्पते ॥२६
ब्रह्मणो हि प्रतिष्ठाहममृतस्याव्ययस्य च ।
शाश्वतस्य च धर्मस्य सुखस्यैकान्तिकस्य च ॥२७

१५. पुरुषोत्तमयोगः

श्रीभगवान्—ऊर्ध्वमूलमधःशाखमश्वत्थं प्राहुरव्ययम् ।
छन्दांसि यस्य पर्णानि यस्तं वेद स वेदवित् ॥१
अधश्चोर्ध्वं प्रसृतास्तस्य शाखा गुणप्रवृद्धा विषयप्रवालाः ।
अधश्च मूलान्यनुसंततानि कर्मानुबन्धीनि मनुष्यलोके ॥२
न रूपमस्येह तथोपलभ्यते नान्तो न चादिर्न च संप्रतिष्ठा ।
अश्वत्थमेनं सुविरूढमूलमसङ्गशस्त्रेण दृढेन छित्त्वा ॥३
ततः पदं तत् परिमार्गितव्यं यस्मिन् गता न निवर्तन्ति भूयः ।
तमेव चाद्यं पुरुषं प्रपद्ये यतः प्रवृत्तिः प्रसृता पुराणी ॥४
निर्मानमोहा जितसङ्गदोषा अध्यात्मनित्या विनिवृत्तकामाः ।
द्वन्द्वैर्विमुक्ताः सुखदुःखसंज्ञैर्गच्छन्त्यमूढा पदमव्ययं तत् ॥५

न तद्भासयते सूर्यो न शशाङ्को न पावकः ।
यद्गत्वा न निवर्तन्ते तद्धाम परमं मम ॥६
ममैवांशो जीवलोके जीवभूतः सनातनः ।
मनःषष्ठानीन्द्रियाणि प्रकृतिस्थानि कर्षति ॥७

शरीरं यदवाप्नोति यच्चाप्युत्क्रामतीश्वरः ।
गृहीत्वैतानि संयाति वायुर्गन्धानिवाशयात् ॥८
श्रोत्रं चक्षुः स्पर्शनं च रसनं घ्राणमेव च ।
अधिष्ठाय मनश्चायं विषयानुपसेवते ॥९
उत्क्रामन्तं स्थितं वापि भुञ्जानं वा गुणान्वितम् ।
विमूढा नानुपश्यन्ति पश्यन्ति ज्ञानचक्षुषः ॥१०
यतन्तो योगिनश्चैनं पश्यन्त्यात्मन्यवस्थितम् ।
यतन्तोऽप्यकृतात्मानो नैनं पश्यन्त्यचेतसः ॥११
यदादित्यगतं तेजो जगद्भासयतेऽखिलम् ।
यच्चन्द्रमसि यच्चाग्नौ तत् तेजो विद्धि मामकम् ॥१२
गामाविश्य च भूतानि धारयाम्यहमोजसा ।
पुष्णामि चौषधीः सर्वाः सोमो भूत्वा रसात्मकः ॥१३
अहं वैश्वानरो भूत्वा प्राणिनां देहमाश्रितः ।
प्राणापानसमायुक्तः पचाम्यन्नं चतुर्विधम् ॥१४
सर्वस्य चाहं हृदि संनिविष्टो मत्तः स्मृतिर्ज्ञानमपोहनं च ।
वेदैश्च सर्वैरहमेव वेद्यो वेदान्तकृद्वेदविदेव चाहम् ॥१५
द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके क्षरश्चाक्षर एव च ।
क्षरः सर्वाणि भूतानि कूटस्थोऽक्षर उच्यते ॥१६
उत्तमः पुरुषस्त्वन्यः परमात्मेत्युदाहृतः ।
यो लोकत्रयमाविश्य बिभर्त्यव्यय ईश्वरः ॥१७
यस्मात् क्षरमतीतोऽहमक्षरादपि चोत्तमः ।
अतोऽस्मि लोके वेदे च प्रथितः पुरुषोत्तमः ॥१८
यो मामेवमसंमूढो जानाति पुरुषोत्तमम् ।
स सर्वविद्भजति मां सर्वभावेन भारत ॥१९
इति गुह्यतमं शास्त्रमिदमुक्तं मयानघ ।
एतद्बुद्ध्वा बुद्धिमान् स्यात् कृतकृत्यश्च भारत ॥२०

१६. दैवासुरसंपद्विभागयोगः

श्रीभगवान्—अभयं सत्त्वसंशुद्धिर्ज्ञानयोगव्यवस्थितिः ।
दानं दमश्च यज्ञश्च स्वाध्यायस्तप आर्जवम् ॥१
अहिंसा सत्यमक्रोधस्त्यागः शान्तिरपैशुनम् ।
दया भूतेष्वलोलुप्त्वं मार्दवं ह्रीरचापलम् ॥२
तेजः क्षमा धृतिः शौचमद्रोहो नातिमानिता ।
भवन्ति संपदं दैवीमभिजातस्य भारत ॥३
दम्भो दर्पोऽतिमानश्च क्रोधः पारुष्यमेव च ।
अज्ञानं चाभिजातस्य पार्थ संपदमासुरीम् ॥४
दैवी संपद्विमोक्षाय निबन्धायासुरी मता ।
मा शुचः संपदं दैवीमभिजातोऽसि पाण्डव ॥५
द्वौ भूतसर्गौ लोकेऽस्मिन् दैव आसुर एव च ।
दैवो विस्तरशः प्रोक्त आसुरं पार्थ मे शृणु ॥६
प्रवृत्तिं च निवृत्तिं च जना न विदुरासुराः ।
न शौचं नापि चाचारो न सत्यं तेषु विद्यते ॥७

असत्यमप्रतिष्ठं ते जगदाहुरनीश्वरम् ।
अपरस्परसंभूतं किमन्यत् कामहैतुकम् ॥८
एतां दृष्टिमवष्टभ्य नष्टात्मानोऽल्पबुद्धयः ।
प्रभवन्त्युग्रकर्माणः क्षयाय जगतोऽहिताः ॥९
काममाश्रित्य दुष्पूरं दम्भमानमदान्विताः ।
मोहाद्गृहीत्वासद्ग्राहान् प्रवर्तन्तेऽशुचिव्रताः ॥१०
चिन्तामपरिमेयां च प्रलयान्तामुपाश्रिताः ।
कामोपभोगपरमा एतावदिति निश्चिताः ॥११
आशापाशशतैर्बद्धाः कामक्रोधपरायणाः ।
ईहन्ते कामभोगार्थमन्यायेनार्थसंचयान् ॥१२
इदमद्य मया लब्धमिदं प्राप्स्ये मनोरथम् ।
इदमस्तीदमपि मे भविष्यति पुनर्धनम् ॥१३
असौ मया हतः शत्रुर्हनिष्ये चापरानपि ।
ईश्वरोऽहमहं भोगी सिद्धोऽहं बलवान् सुखी ॥१४
आढ्योऽभिजनवानस्मि कोऽन्योऽस्ति सदृशो मया ।
यक्ष्ये दास्यामि मोदिष्य इत्यज्ञानविमोहिताः ॥१५
अनेकचित्तविभ्रान्ता मोहजालसमावृताः ।
प्रसक्ताः कामभोगेषु पतन्ति नरकेऽशुचौ ॥१६
आत्मसंभाविताः स्तब्धा धनमानमदान्विताः ।
यजन्ते नामयज्ञैस्ते दम्भेनाविधिपूर्वकम् ॥१७
अहंकारं बलं दर्पं कामं क्रोधं च संश्रिताः ।
मामात्मपरदेहेषु प्रद्विषन्तोऽभ्यसूयकाः ॥१८

तानहं द्विषतः क्रूरान् संसारेषु नराधमान् ।
क्षिपाम्यजस्रमशुभानासुरीष्वेव योनिषु ॥१९
आसुरीं योनिमापन्ना मूढा जन्मनि जन्मनि ।
मामप्राप्यैव कौन्तेय ततो यान्त्यधमां गतिम् ॥२०
त्रिविधं नरकस्येदं द्वारं नाशनमात्मनः ।
कामः क्रोधस्तथा लोभस्तस्मादेतत् त्रयं त्यजेत् ॥२१
एतैर्विमुक्तः कौन्तेय तमोद्वारैस्त्रिभिर्नरः ।
आचरत्यात्मनः श्रेयस्ततो याति परां गतिम् ॥२२
यः शास्त्रविधिमुत्सृज्य वर्तते कामकारतः ।
न स सिद्धिमवाप्नोति न सुखं न परां गतिम् ॥२३
तस्माच्छास्त्रं प्रमाणं ते कार्याकार्यव्यवस्थितौ ।
ज्ञात्वा शास्त्रविधानोक्तं कर्म कर्तुमिहार्हसि ॥२४

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१७. श्रद्धात्रयविभागयोगः

अर्जुन—ये शास्त्रविधिमुत्सृज्य यजन्ते श्रद्धयान्विताः ।
तेषां निष्ठा तु का कृष्ण सत्त्वमाहो रजस्तमः ॥१

श्रीभगवान्—त्रिविधा भवति श्रद्धा देहिनां सा स्वभावजा ।
सात्त्विकी राजसी चैव तामसी चेति तां शृणु ॥२
सत्त्वानुरूपा सर्वस्य श्रद्धा भवति भारत ।
श्रद्धामयोऽयं पुरुषो यो यच्छ्रद्धः स एव सः ॥३

यजन्ते सात्त्विका देवान् यक्षरक्षांसि राजसाः ।
प्रेतान् भूतगणांश्चान्ये यजन्ते तामसा जनाः ॥४

अशास्त्रविहितं घोरं तप्यन्ते ये तपो जनाः ।
दम्भाहंकारसंयुक्ताः कामरागबलान्विताः ॥५
कर्षयन्तः शरीरस्थं भूतग्राममचेतसः ।
मां चैवान्तःशरीरस्थं तान् विद्ध्यासुरनिश्चयान् ॥६

आहारस्त्वपि सर्वस्य त्रिविधो भवति प्रियः ।
यज्ञस्तपस्तथा दानं तेषां भेदमिमं शृणु ॥७
आयुःसत्त्वबलारोग्यसुखप्रीतिविवर्धनाः ।
रस्याः स्निग्धाः स्थिरा हृद्या आहाराः सात्त्विकप्रियाः ॥८
कट्वम्ललवणात्युष्णतीक्ष्णरूक्षविदाहिनः ।
आहारा राजसस्येष्टा दुःखशोकामयप्रदाः ॥९
यातयामं गतरसं पूति पर्युषितं च यत् ।
उच्छिष्टमपि चामेध्यं भोजनं तामसप्रियम् ॥१०
अफलाकाङ्क्षिभिर्यज्ञो विधिदृष्टो य इज्यते ।
यष्टव्यमेवेति मनः समाधाय स सात्त्विकः ॥११
अभिसंधाय तु फलं दम्भार्थमपि चैव यत् ।
इज्यते भरतश्रेष्ठ तं यज्ञं विद्धि राजसम् ॥१२
विधिहीनमसृष्टान्नं मन्त्रहीनमदक्षिणम् ।
श्रद्धाविरहितं यज्ञं तामसं परिचक्षते ॥१३
देवद्विजगुरुप्राज्ञपूजनं शौचमार्जवम् ।
ब्रह्मचर्यमहिंसा च शारीरं तप उच्यते ॥१४

अनुद्वेगकरं वाक्यं सत्यं प्रियहितं च यत् ।
स्वाध्यायाभ्यसनं चैव वाङ्मयं तप उच्यते ॥१५
मनःप्रसादः सौम्यत्वं मौनमात्मविनिग्रहः ।
भावसंशुद्धिरित्येतत्तपो मानसमुच्यते ॥१६
श्रद्धया परया तप्तं तपस्तत् त्रिविधं नरैः ।
अफलाकाङ्क्षिभिर्युक्तैः सात्त्विकं परिचक्षते ॥१७
सत्कारमानपूजार्थं तपो दम्भेन चैव यत् ।
क्रियते तदिह प्रोक्तं राजसं चलमध्रुवम् ॥१८
मूढग्राहेणात्मनो यत् पीडया क्रियते तपः ।
परस्योत्सादनार्थं वा तत्तामसमुदाहृतम् ॥१९
दातव्यमिति यद्दानं दीयतेऽनुपकारिणे ।
देशे काले च पात्रे च तद्दानं सात्त्विकं स्मृतम् ॥२०
यत् तु प्रत्युपकारार्थं फलमुद्दिश्य वा पुनः ।
दीयते च परिक्लिष्टं तद्दानं राजसं स्मृतम् ॥२१
अदेशकाले यद्दानमपात्रेभ्यश्च दीयते ।
असत्कृतमवज्ञातं तत् तामसमुदाहृतम् ॥२२
ॐ तत्सदिति निर्देशो ब्रह्मणस्त्रिविधः स्मृतः ।
ब्राह्मणास्तेन वेदाश्च यज्ञाश्च विहिताः पुरा ॥२३
तस्मादोमित्युदाहृत्य यज्ञदानतपःक्रियाः ।
प्रवर्तन्ते विधानोक्ताः सततं ब्रह्मवादिनाम् ॥२४
तदित्यनभिसंधाय फलं यज्ञतपःक्रियाः ।
दानक्रियाश्च विविधाः क्रियन्ते मोक्षकाङ्क्षिभिः ॥२५

सद्भावे साधुभावे च सदित्येतत् प्रयुज्यते ।
प्रशस्ते कर्मणि तथा सच्छब्दः पार्थ युज्यते ॥२६
यज्ञे तपसि दाने च स्थितिः सदिति चोच्यते ।
कर्म चैव तदर्थीयं सदित्येवाभिधीयते ॥२७
अश्रद्धया हुतं दत्तं तपस्तप्तं कृतं च यत् ।
असदित्युच्यते पार्थ न च तत् प्रेत्य नो इह ॥२८

१८. मोक्षसंन्यासयोगः

अर्जुन उवाच संन्यासस्य महाबाहो तत्त्वमिच्छामि वेदितुम् ।
त्यागस्य च हृषीकेश पृथक् केशिनिषूदन ॥१
श्रीभगवानुवाच काम्यानां कर्मणां न्यासं संन्यासं कवयो विदुः ।
सर्वकर्मफलत्यागं प्राहुस्त्यागं विचक्षणाः ॥२
त्याज्यं दोषवदित्येके कर्म प्राहुर्मनीषिणः ।
यज्ञदानतपःकर्म न त्याज्यमिति चापरे ॥३
निश्चयं शृण मे तत्र त्यागे भरतसत्तम ।
त्यागो हि पुरुषव्याघ्र त्रिविधः संप्रकीर्तितः ॥४
यज्ञदानतपःकर्म न त्याज्यं कार्यमेव तत् ।
यज्ञो दानं तपश्चैव पावनानि मनीषिणाम् ॥५
एतान्यपि तु कर्माणि सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा फलानि च ।
कर्तव्यानीति मे पार्थ निश्चितं मतमुत्तमम् ॥६
नियतस्य तु संन्यासः कर्मणो नोपपद्यते ।
मोहात् तस्य परित्यागस्तामसः परिकीर्तितः ॥७
दुःखमित्येव यत् कर्म कायक्लेशभयात् त्यजेत् ।
स कृत्वा राजसं त्यागं नैव त्यागफलं लभेत् ॥८
कार्यमित्येव यत् कर्म नियतं क्रियतेऽर्जुन ।
सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा फलं चैव स त्यागः सात्त्विको मतः ॥९
न द्वेष्ट्यकुशलं कर्म कुशले नानुषज्यते ।
त्यागी सत्त्वसमाविष्टो मेधावी छिन्नसंशयः ॥१०
न हि देहभृता शक्यं त्यक्तुं कर्माण्यशेषतः ।
यस्तु कर्मफलत्यागी स त्यागीत्यभिधीयते ॥११
अनिष्टमिष्टं मिश्रं च त्रिविधं कर्मणः फलम् ।
भवत्यत्यागिनां प्रेत्य न तु संन्यासिनां क्वचित् ॥१२
पञ्चैतानि महाबाहो कारणानि निबोध मे ।
साङ्ख्ये कृतान्ते प्रोक्तानि सिद्धये सर्वकर्मणाम् ॥१३
अधिष्ठानं तथा कर्ता करणं च पृथग्विधम् ।
विविधाश्च पृथक्चेष्टा दैवं चैवात्र पञ्चमम् ॥१४
शरीरवाङ्मनोभिर्यत् कर्म प्रारभते नरः ।
न्याय्यं वा विपरीतं वा पञ्चैते तस्य हेतवः ॥१५
तत्रैवं सति कर्तारमात्मानं केवलं तु यः ।
पश्यत्यकृतबुद्धित्वान्न स पश्यति दुर्मतिः ॥१६
यस्य नाहंकृतो भावो बुद्धिर्यस्य न लिप्यते ।
हत्वा स इमाँल्लोकान् न हन्ति न निबध्यते ॥१७

ज्ञानं ज्ञेयं परिज्ञाता त्रिविधा कर्मचोदना ।
करणं कर्म कर्तेति त्रिविधः कर्मसंग्रहः ॥१८
ज्ञानं कर्म च कर्ता च त्रिधैव गुणभेदतः ।
प्रोच्यते गुणसंख्याने यथावच्छृणु तान्यपि ॥१९
सर्वभूतेषु येनैकं भावमव्ययमीक्षते ।
अविभक्तं विभक्तेषु तज्ज्ञानं विद्धि सात्त्विकम् ॥२०
पृथक्त्वेन तु यज्ज्ञानं नानाभावान् पृथग्विधान् ।
वेत्ति सर्वेषु भूतेषु तज्ज्ञानं विद्धि राजसम् ॥२१
यत् तु कृत्स्नवदेकस्मिन् कार्ये सक्तमहैतुकम् ।
अतत्त्वार्थवदल्पं च तत् तामसमुदाहृतम् ॥२२
नियतं सङ्गरहितमरागद्वेषतः कृतम् ।
अफलप्रेप्सुना कर्म यत् तत् सात्त्विकमुच्यते ॥२३
यत् तु कामेप्सुना कर्म साहंकारेण वा पुनः ।
क्रियते बहुलायासं तद्राजसमुदाहृतम् ॥२४॥
अनुबन्धं क्षयं हिंसामनपेक्ष्य च पौरुषम् ।
मोहादारभ्यते कर्म यत् तत् तामसमुच्यते ॥२५
मुक्तसङ्गोऽनहंवादी धृत्युत्साहसमन्वितः ।
सिद्ध्यसिद्ध्योर्निर्विकारः कर्ता सात्त्विक उच्यते ॥२६
रागी कर्मफलप्रेप्सुर्लुब्धो हिंसात्मकोऽशुचिः ।
हर्षशोकान्वितः कर्ता राजसः परिकीर्तितः ॥२७
अयुक्तः प्राकृतः स्तब्धः शठो नैष्कृतिकोऽलसः ।
विषादी दीर्घसूत्री च कर्ता तामस उच्यते ॥२८

बुद्धेर्भेदं धृतेश्चैव गुणतस्त्रिविधं शृणु ।
प्रोच्यमानमशेषेण पृथक्त्वेन धनंजय ॥२९
प्रवृत्तिं च निवृत्तिं च कार्याकार्ये भयाभये ।
बन्धं मोक्षं च या वेत्ति बुद्धिः सा पार्थ सात्त्विकी ॥३०
यया धर्ममधर्मं च कार्यं चाकार्यमेव च ।
अयथावत् प्रजानाति बुद्धिः सा पार्थ राजसी ॥३१
अधर्मं धर्ममिति या मन्यते तमसावृता ।
सर्वार्थान् विपरीतांश्च बुद्धिः सा पार्थ तामसी ॥३२
धृत्या यया धारयते मनःप्राणेन्द्रियक्रियाः ।
योगेनाव्यभिचारिण्या धृतिः सा पार्थ सात्त्विकी ॥३३
यया तु धर्मकामार्थान् धृत्या धारयतेऽर्जुन ।
प्रसङ्गेन फलाकाङ्क्षी धृतिः सा पार्थ राजसी ॥३४
यया स्वप्नं भयं शोकं विषादं मदमेव च ।
न विमुञ्चति दुर्मेधा धृतिः सा पार्थ तामसी ॥३५
सुखं त्विदानीं त्रिविधं शृणु मे भरतर्षभ ।
अभ्यासाद्रमते यत्र दुःखान्तं च निगच्छति ॥३६
यत्तदग्रे विषमिव परिणामेऽमृतोपमम् ।
तत्सुखं सात्त्विकं प्रोक्तमात्मबुद्धिप्रसादजम् ॥३७
विषयेन्द्रियसंयोगाद्यत्तदग्रेऽमृतोपमम् ।
परिणामे विषमिव तत् सुखं राजसं स्मृतम् ॥३८
यदग्रे चानुबन्धे च सुखं मोहनमात्मनः ।
निद्रालस्यप्रमादोत्थं तत्तामसमुदाहृतम् ॥३९

न तदस्ति पृथिव्यां वा दिवि देवेषु वा पुनः ।
सत्त्वं प्रकृतिजैर्मुक्तं यदेभिः स्यात् त्रिभिर्गुणैः ॥४०
ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां शूद्राणां च परंतप ।
कर्माणि प्रविभक्तानि स्वभावप्रभवैर्गुणैः ॥४१
शमो दमस्तपः शौचं क्षान्तिरार्जवमेव च ।
ज्ञानं विज्ञानमास्तिक्यं ब्रह्मकर्म स्वभावजम् ॥४२
शौर्यं तेजो धृतिर्दाक्ष्यं युद्धे चाप्यपलायनम् ।
दानमीश्वरभावश्च क्षत्रकर्म स्वभावजम् ॥४३
कृषिगौरक्ष्यवाणिज्यं वैश्यकर्म स्वभावजम् ।
परिचर्यात्मकं कर्म शूद्रस्यापि स्वभावजम् ॥४४
स्वे स्वे कर्मण्यभिरतः संसिद्धिं लभते नरः ।
स्वकर्मनिरतः सिद्धिं यथा विन्दति तच्छृणु ॥४५
यतः प्रवृत्तिर्भूतानां येन सर्वमिदं ततम् ।
स्वकर्मणा तमभ्यर्च्य सिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः ॥४६
श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात् स्वनुष्ठितात् ।
स्वभावनियतं कर्म कुर्वन् नाप्नोति किल्बिषम् ॥४७
सहजं कर्म कौन्तेय सदोषमपि न त्यजेत् ।
सर्वारम्भा हि दोषेण धूमेनाग्निरिवावृताः ॥४८
असक्तबुद्धिः सर्वत्र जितात्मा विगतस्पृहः
नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धिं परमां संन्यासेनाधिगच्छति ॥४९
सिद्धिं प्राप्तो यथा ब्रह्म तथाप्नोति निबोध मे ।
समासेनैव कौन्तेय निष्ठा ज्ञानस्य या परा ॥५०
बुद्ध्या विशुद्धया युक्तो धृत्यात्मानं नियम्य च ।
शब्दादीन् विषयांस्त्यक्त्वा रागद्वेषौ व्युदस्य च ॥५१
विविक्तसेवी लघ्वाशी यतवाक्कायमानसः ।
ध्यानयोगपरो नित्यं वैराग्यं समुपाश्रितः ॥५२
अहंकारं बलं दर्पं कामं क्रोधं परिग्रहम् ।
विमुच्य निर्ममः शान्तो ब्रह्मभूयाय कल्पते ॥५३
ब्रह्मभूतः प्रसन्नात्मा न शोचति न काङ्क्षति ।
समः सर्वेषु भूतेषु मद्भक्तिं लभते पराम् ॥५४
भक्त्या मामभिजानाति यावान् यश्चास्मि तत्त्वतः ।
ततो मां तत्त्वतो ज्ञात्वा विशते तदनन्तरम् ॥५५
सर्वकर्माण्यपि सदा कुर्वाणो मद्व्यपाश्रयः ।
मत्प्रसादादवाप्नोति शाश्वतं पदमव्ययम् ॥५६
चेतसा सर्वकर्माणि मयि संन्यस्य मत्परः ।
बुद्धियोगमुपाश्रित्य मच्चित्तः सततं भव ॥५७
मच्चित्तः सर्वदुर्गाणि मत्प्रसादात् तरिष्यसि ।
अथ चेत् त्वमहंकारान्न श्रोष्यसि विनङ्क्ष्यसि ॥५८
यदहंकारमाश्रित्य न योत्स्य इति मन्यसे ।
मिथ्यैष व्यवसायस्ते प्रकृतिस्त्वां नियोक्ष्यति ॥५९
स्वभावजेन कौन्तेय निबद्धः स्वेन कर्मणा ।
कर्तुं नेच्छसि यन्मोहात् करिष्यस्यवशोऽपि तत् ॥६०
ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां हृद्देशेऽर्जुन तिष्ठति ।
भ्रामयन् सर्वभूतानि यन्त्रारूढानि मायया ॥६१

तमेव शरणं गच्छ सर्वभावेन भारत ।
तत्प्रसादात् परां शान्तिं स्थानं प्राप्स्यसि शाश्वतम् ॥६२
इति ते ज्ञानमाख्यातं गुह्याद्गुह्यतरं मया ।
विमृश्यैतदशेषेण यथेच्छसि तथा कुरु ॥६३
सर्वगुह्यतमं भूयः शृणु मे परमं वचः ।
इष्टोऽसि मे दृढमिति ततो वक्ष्यामि ते हितम् ॥६४
मन्मना भव मद्भक्तो मद्याजी मां नमस्कुरु ।
मामेवैष्यसि सत्यं ते प्रतिजाने प्रियोऽसि मे ॥६५
सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज ।
अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः ॥६६
इदं ते नातपस्काय नाभक्ताय कदाचन ।
न चाशुश्रूषवे वाच्यं न च मां योऽभ्यसूयति ॥६७
य इमं परमं गुह्यं मद्भक्तेष्वभिधास्यति ।
भक्तिं मयि परां कृत्वा मामेवैष्यत्यसंशयः ॥६८
न च तस्मान्मनुष्येषु कश्चिन्मे प्रियकृत्तमः ।
भविता न च मे तस्मादन्यः प्रियतरो भुवि ॥६९
अध्येष्यते च य इमं धर्म्यं संवादमावयोः ।
ज्ञानयज्ञेन तेनाहमिष्टः स्यामिति मे मतिः ॥७०
श्रद्धावाननसूयश्च शृणुयादपि यो नरः ।
सोऽपि मुक्तः शुभाँल्लोकान् प्राप्नुयात् पुण्यकर्मणाम् ॥७१
कच्चिदेतच्छ्रुतं पार्थ त्वयैकाग्रेण चेतसा ।
कच्चिदज्ञानसंमोहः प्रनष्टस्ते धनंजय ॥७२

अर्जुन—नष्टो मोहः स्मृतिर्लब्धा त्वत्प्रसादान्मयाच्युत ।
स्थितोऽस्मि गतसंदेहः करिष्ये वचनं तव ॥७३

संजय—इत्यहं वासुदेवस्य पार्थस्य च महात्मनः ।
संवादमिममश्रौषमद्भुतं रोमहर्षणम् ॥७४
व्यासप्रसादाच्छ्रुतवानेतद्गुह्यमहं परम् ।
योगं योगेश्वरात् कृष्णात् साक्षात् कथयतः स्वयम् ॥७५
राजन् संस्मृत्य संस्मृत्य संवादमिममद्भुतम् ।
केशवार्जुनयोः पुण्यं हृष्यामि च मुहुर्मुहुः ॥७६
तच्च संस्मृत्य संस्मृत्य रूपमत्यद्भुतं हरेः ।
विस्मयो मे महान् राजन् हृष्यामि च पुनः पुनः ॥७७
यत्र योगेश्वरः कृष्णो यत्र पार्थो धनुर्धरः ।
तत्र श्रीर्विजयो भूतिर्ध्रुवा नीतिर्मतिर्मम ॥७८

इति त्रिकाल–भगवद्गीता समाप्ता ।

Appendixes

ANNOTATED REFERENCE TEXT

सत्त्वं सुखे सञ्जयति रजः कर्मणि भारत ।
ज्ञानमावृत्य तु तमः प्रमादे सञ्जयत्युत ॥ ९ ॥

रजस्तमश्चाभिभूय सत्त्वं भवति भारत ।
रजः सत्त्वं तमश्चैव तमः सत्त्वं रजस्तथा ॥ १० ॥

सर्वद्वारेषु देहेऽस्मिन् प्रकाश उपजायते ।
ज्ञानं यदा तदा विद्याद्विवृद्धं सत्त्वमित्युत ॥ ११ ॥

लोभः प्रवृत्तिरारम्भः कर्मणामशमः स्पृहा ।
रजस्येतानि जायन्ते विवृद्धे भरतर्षभ ॥ १२ ॥

अप्रकाशोऽप्रवृत्तिश्च प्रमादो मोह एव च ।
तमस्येतानि जायन्ते विवृद्धे कुरुनन्दन ॥ १३ ॥

यदा सत्त्वे प्रवृद्धे तु प्रलयं याति देहभृत् ।
तदोत्तमविदां लोकानमलान् प्रतिपद्यते ॥ १४ ॥

रजसि प्रलयं गत्वा कर्मसङ्गिषु जायते ।
तथा प्रलीनस्तमसि मूढयोनिषु जायते ॥ १५ ॥

कर्मणः सुकृतस्याहुः सात्त्विकं निर्मलं फलम् ।
रजसस्तु फलं दुःखमज्ञानं तमसः फलम् ॥ १६ ॥

सत्त्वात् संजायते ज्ञानं रजसो लोभ एव च ।
प्रमादमोहौ तमसो भवतोऽज्ञानमेव च ॥ १७ ॥

ऊर्ध्वं गच्छन्ति सत्त्वस्था मध्ये तिष्ठन्ति राजसाः ।
जघन्यगुणवृत्तिस्था अधो गच्छन्ति तामसाः ॥ १८ ॥

नान्यं गुणेभ्यः कर्तारं यदा द्रष्टानुपश्यति ।
गुणेभ्यश्च परं वेत्ति मद्भावं सोऽधिगच्छति ॥ १९ ॥

गुणानेतानतीत्य त्रीन् देही देहसमुद्भवान् ।
जन्ममृत्युजरादुःखैर्विमुक्तोऽमृतमश्नुते ॥ २० ॥

अर्जुन उवाच ।

कैर्लिङ्गैस्त्रीन् गुणानेतानतीतो भवति प्रभो ।
किमाचारः कथं चैतांस्त्रीन् गुणानतिवर्तते ॥ २१ ॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच ।

प्रकाशं च प्रवृत्तिं च मोहमेव च पाण्डव ।
न द्वेष्टि संप्रवृत्तानि न निवृत्तानि काङ्क्षति ॥ २२ ॥

उदासीनवदासीनो गुणैर्यो न विचाल्यते ।
गुणा वर्तन्त इत्येव योऽवतिष्ठति नेङ्गते ॥ २३ ॥

समदुःखसुखः स्वस्थः समलोष्टाश्मकाञ्चनः ।
तुल्यप्रियाप्रियो धीरस्तुल्यनिन्दात्मसंस्तुतिः ॥ २४ ॥

मानापमानयोस्तुल्यस्तुल्यो मित्रारिपक्षयोः ।
सर्वारम्भपरित्यागी गुणातीतः स उच्यते ॥ २५ ॥

मां च योऽव्यभिचारेण भक्तियोगेन सेवते ।
स गुणान् समतीत्यैतान् ब्रह्मभूयाय कल्पते ॥ २६ ॥

१४. २६ – 'योऽवतिष्ठति' इत्यस्याने छन्दोभङ्गभयात् 'योऽवुलिङ्गति' इति पाठान्तर कामतः स्वीकरणीयमिति भाव्यमस्ति ।

ईश्वरकृष्णा – सांख्यकारिका पहा
प्रकृति – पुरुष – गुण – मोक्ष इ कल्पना

ब्रह्मबुद्धी न परिणाम
एकेका गुणाची वृद्धी झाली असता
दिसणारी लक्षणे व गुणदोष

सत्त्व वृद्धी – प्रकाश, ज्ञान.
रजो " – कर्मारंभ, लोभ, प्रवृत्ति, अशांति, स्पृहा.
तमो " – प्रमाद, मोह, अज्ञान, आलस्य

१ निद्रेत् २ कर्मासक्ति ३ मूर्ख
त्या कुटुंबात जन्म

सात्त्विक सुख दुःख अज्ञान
ज्ञान लोभ प्रमाद

स्वर्ग-मृत्यु-पाताळ कल्पना-तत्कालीन
समाजातील तीन अवस्था — अर्थ.
स्वर्ग आणि मोक्ष यांतील सारख्यपणा-
प्रभावे-फरक आहे तो पहा
ज्ञानवंताने गुण आणि आत्मा यांतील
भेद ओळखून – गुणातीत वृत्ती मेळावी

सांख्यांचा आदर्श पुरुष.
कबीर का संभावनीय ?
त्यांच्यातले स्पष्ट लक्षण आत नाही.
लक्षणे, आचरण, मार्ग

गुणांच्या क्रिया व परिणाम यांतील अलिप्तपणे
तटस्थ दृष्टीने पाहणारा.

समत्व वृत्ती. (स्वस्थ) आत्मज्ञान-स्थ

१ सुख दुःख २ कांचन-लोष्ट अश्म
३ प्रिय अप्रिय ४ निंदा स्तुती ५ मानापमान
६ मित्र अरि — जीवनांतील द्वन्द्वे

भक्तीचे चार पाऊल पद – प्रतीक
अनन्य सुरवणी मार्ग मार्ग

ज्ञानी, पुरुषार्थातीत इ. सारख्यांची अवस्था – भक्तीतही मिळू शकते.

APPENDIX II

A SPECIMEN OF CHAPTER-ANALYSIS

CHAPTER VI—ĀTMA-SAṀYAMA

Topics :—Self-effort, Meditation, Self-control, Re-birth, etc.

Verses	*Total*	*Topic and Substance*	*Note*
1–4	4	*Action-Renunciation*-identical and supplementary	Sāṅkhya popularity Reconciliation
5–9	5	*Self-Effort* : Self-realization and Progress through Self-effort Non-dualism.	Karma-yogin Hope Yoga
10–15	6	*Meditation* : Concentration on Me	First stage, Deity
16–23	8	*Introspection* : on Self. Highest Joy and peace	Second stage, Self
24–28	5	*Blank-ness* : Absolute suspension of mind Brahman-approach	Third stage Blank. Brahman
29–32	4	*Omni-Self* : Oneness with God and living beings. Equality	Social value Devotion
33–36	4	*Mind-control* : through practice of Yoga and Vairāgya	Psychology Vairāgya
37–45	9	*Continuity* : of Yoga in after-lives. Progress through accretion	Re-births of Yogin. Hope
46–47	2	Comparison : Jñāna, Tapas, Karma Yogin with Devotion — Superior	Devotion is added Yogin ideal

Optimism : Self-effort, Continuity of Yoga in after-life, Advantage of progress in past life.

Yoga-Abhyāsa : Self-control, mind-control, meditation on concrete and abstract. Yoga evolution.

Habits : Moderation in ways of living essential.

Objective : Mental discipline necessary for sense-control, equipoise, peace, and Karma-Yoga. Identical attitude in Karma and Yoga. Supplementary principles.

Opportunity for all : Progress possible for all through self-effort and discipline; even for Tāmasa and Āsura categories.

APPENDIX III

SPECIMEN OF VERSE-ANALYSIS

CHAPTER VI

Verses	*Observations*	*Category-Topic*
1	Continuation of discussion on Saṁnyāsa	Definition and comparison
5–7	Ātmā = Self, not Soul Param-Ātmā, not Universal Soul	Meaning of Ātman and Param-Ātman
10–20	Use of Citta — Pātañjala Sūtra	Citta word
15	Nirvāṇa-like peace of mind	Śhānti-Nirvāṇa
21–28	Concept of highest joy— para-sensual, stable, sorrowless.	Objective— Joy and Peace
24–26	Manas, Dhṛti, Buddhi, and their control—Mental discipline	Psychological terminology
15, 21, 27	Objective—Śhānti, Sukha, Duhkha-hāni; Peace, Joy, end to sorrow	Ultimate ends of life
31	Result — Brahma-Saṁsparśa No reference to mystic experience	Brahman-touch No mysticism
32	Altruistic, philanthropic, humanitarian attitude	Omni-Selfism Humanity
33–36	Nature of mind, method of control; means—control, practice, vairāgya	Psychology of discipline
38	Progress towards Brahman—ideal	Brahman ideal
41	Belief in the other world—Heaven	Heaven
45	Parā-Gati, after many lives	Series of rebirths
46	Yogin = Karma-Yogin, not Haṭha-Yogin Superiority of Yoga over other paths	Comparison of paths
47	Refrain of Bhakti, added to Yoga	Bhakti-refrain

APPENDIX IV

A TOPIC-WISE MAP OF THE GĪTĀ

First Author—Bold type *Second Author—Italic type* Third Author—Roman type

१ अर्जुनविषाद उभयसेनानायकाः रणवाद्यघोषाः **सेनादर्शनम्** **स्वजनहत्यापापम्** कुलधर्मविनाशभयम् **शस्त्यागः**

२ सांख्ययोग धर्माधर्मसंमोहः **देहदेहीविवेकः** क्षात्रधर्मः वेदवादरताः **बुद्धियोगविवेचनम्** स्थितप्रज्ञवर्णनम्

३ कर्मयोग **द्विविधा निष्ठा** **प्रकृतिसिद्धकर्मन्** **यज्ञचक्रम्** लोकसंग्रहः काम-क्रोध-बलम् **आत्मबोधः**

४ ब्रह्मयज्ञप्रशंसा योगस्य परंपरा ईश्वरसंभवाः **कर्माकर्मविवेकः** **बहुविधयज्ञाः** **ज्ञानयज्ञः** **संशयच्छेदः**

५ संन्यासयोग **सांख्य-योग-विवेकः** **कर्मफलत्यागः** **स्वभावप्रवृत्तिः** ब्रह्मविद्वर्णनम् समाधिस्थमुनिः

६ ध्यानयोग **संन्यासियोगीसाम्यम्** **आत्मोद्धारः** **योगासनम्** मच्चित्तध्यानम् **आत्मदर्शनम्** **ब्रह्मभूतत्वम्**
मनोनिग्रहः योगभ्रष्ट-संसिद्धिः **योगी-श्रेष्ठत्वम्**

७ ज्ञानविज्ञान अपरा-परा-प्रकृती मयि सर्वम् प्रोतम् भक्तप्रकाराः अन्यदेवता-भक्ताः द्वन्द्वमूढाः ब्रह्मविदो भक्ताः

८ अक्षरब्रह्म किं तद्ब्रह्म अन्तेस्मणरम् *योगी-प्रयाणम्* भक्त-प्रयाणम् *भूतप्रभवप्रलयौ* *सनातनपुरुषः* *शुक्लकृष्ण-गती*

९ राजविद्याराजगुह्यम् पवित्रधर्मः ऐश्वरयोगः चराचर-प्रभव-प्रलयौ आसुरी-दैवी-प्रकृती अधियज्ञः त्रैविद्याः
अन्योपासकाः मदर्पणं कर्मन् समोऽहं सर्वभूतेषु

१० विभूतियोग लोकमहेश्वरः सर्वस्य प्रभवः बुद्धियोगदानम् विभूति कथय विभूति-विस्तारः यद्यद्विभूतिमत्-तत्तत्

११ विश्वरूपदर्शनम् श्रुतं न तु दृष्टम् एकस्थं जगत् दिव्यदर्शनम् अद्भुतत्वम् उग्रत्वम् संहारककालः
युध्यस्व नमोनमः सौम्यरूपर्शनम् अनन्यभक्तिः

१२ भक्तियोग अव्यक्तोपासना भक्तिः सुसुखा विविधयोगाः आदर्शभक्तः

१३ क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञयोग *सविकारम् क्षेत्रम्* ज्ञानलक्षणानि ज्ञेयवर्णनम् *प्रकृति-पुरुषौ आत्मदर्शनयोगाः*
परमात्मा *ज्ञानचक्षुदर्शनम्*

१४ गुणत्रयविभाग महद्ब्रह्म पिता *त्रिगुणबद्धो देही गुणपरिणामाः त्रिगुणफलानि* गुणातीत-लक्षणानि
भक्तिप्रभावः

१५ पुरुषोत्तमयोग *अश्वत्थच्छेदः* अव्ययपुरुषधाम ममैवांशो जीवभूतः महाभूतस्थं तेजः परमात्मा पुरुषोत्तमः

१६ दैवासुरसंपद् दैवीसंपद्गुणाः आसुरीसंपद्वर्णनम् कामक्रोधत्यागः शास्त्रप्रमाणम्

१७ श्रद्धात्रयविभाग *त्रिविधा श्रद्धा उपासनाः आहाराः यज्ञाः त्रिविधं तपः दानानि ॐतत्सत्*

१८ मोक्षसंन्यास *संन्यास-त्यागभेदः त्रिविधस्त्यागः सिद्धिकारणानि कर्मचोदना-संग्रहौ* ज्ञानादीनां त्रिविधत्वम्
चातुर्वर्ण्यकर्माणि स्वकर्मणा सिद्धिः *ब्रह्मभूयत्वम्* भक्तिप्रभावः यन्त्रारूढत्वम् पापमुक्तिः
धर्मसंवादः ज्ञानयज्ञः मोहनाशः योगेश्वर-धनुर्धर-संगमः

APPENDIX V

REPETITION OF TOPICS

CHAPTERS AND VERSES OF TOPICS WHICH ARE REPEATED

	Topics	*Chapters and Verses*
1.	Immortality	2(11–30) 2(26, 27) 6(37–45)
2.	Buddhi-Yoga	2(39–53) 10(9) 18(29–32) 18(57)
3.	Karma-Yoga	3(1–8) 4(16–23) 5(1–13) 6(1–4) 18(1–62)
4.	Perfect Individual	2(54–72) 5(16–26) 6(19–32) 12(13–20) 13(7–11)
5.	Yajña	2(42–46) 3(9–16) 4(24–33) 9(20–21) 17(11–19)
6.	Guṇas	3(27–29) 7(12–15) 13(19–23) 14(5–26)
7.	Kāma-Krodha	2(52–63) 3(36–43) 5(23–26) 16(6–23)
8.	Tradition	4(1–15) 10(12–18) 13(4)
9.	Jñāna	4(33–42) 7(16–19) 13(5–11) 18(18–22) 18(70)
10.	Saṁnyāsa	5(1–13) 6(1–4) 18(1–11)
11.	Dhyāna	5(27–29) 6(10–28) 8(8–13) 12(9–12) 13(24)
12.	Comparison	3(42, 43) 6(46, 47) 7(16–19) 11(48–55) 12(8–12)
13.	Cosmology	2(28) 7(1–7) 8(18–22) 9(4–10) 10(1–8) 13(1–34) 14(3–4)
14.	Paramātman	7(8–11) 8(3, 4) 10(19–43) 11(9–34) 13(12–17) 15(7–18)
15.	Worship	2(42–44) 4(24–33) 7(20–23) 9(14–25) 11(48–54) 12(1–12) 13(24–30)
16.	Brahman	5(20–26) 6(27, 28) 7(29) 8(3–28) 13(12–17) 18(50–53)
17.	Bhakti	7(16–19) 8(8–16) 9(26–34) 10(9–11) 11(52–55) 12(6–20) 18(54–71)
18.	Eschatology	8(8–28) 14(14–18)
19.	Tri-guṇas	14(14–18) 17(3–32) 18(7–40)
20.	Daivī-Āsurī	7(24–27) 9(11–13) 16(1–20)
21.	Śāstra	15(20) 16(23, 24) 17(1)
22.	Society	1(38–44) 3(20–25) 4(7–13) 18(40–44)
23.	Kṣetra	2(31–38) 18(43)

Pāpa-Puṇya, Śraddhā-Aśraddhā, Siddhāvasthā etc. are also repeated.

APPENDIX VI

TERMS AND CONCEPTS INDICATING ULTIMATE GOALS

The diversity and evolution in ultimate goals of life is indicated by the following terms and phrases, occurring in the verses of the various chapters.

Chapter II—15–अमृतत्वाय, 64–प्रसादम्, 65–दुःखानां हानिः, 70–शान्तिम्, 72–ब्रह्मनिर्वाणम् । **Chapter III**—4–सिद्धिम्, 19–परम् । **Chapter IV**–9– पुनर्जन्ममुक्तिः, माम् एति, 39–परां शान्तिम् । **Chapter V**–6–ब्रह्म, 10–पापेन न लिप्यते, 11–आत्मशुद्धये, 12–शान्तिम्, 12–न निबध्यते, 17–अपुनरावृत्तिम्, 20, 24 to 26 ब्रह्मविद्, ब्रह्मणिस्थितः, ब्रह्मनिर्वाणम्, ब्रह्मभूतः, 21–अक्षयसुखम् । **Chapter VI**—21 to 23–आत्यन्तिकम् बुद्धिग्राह्यम् अतीन्द्रियं सुखम्, दुःखवियोगः, 15–निर्वाणपरमाम् मत्संस्थां शान्तिम् । **Chapter VII**—14–मायां तरन्ति, 29–जरा-मरण-मोक्षाय, ब्रह्म विदुः । **Chapter VIII**—2–प्रयाणकाले ज्ञेयोऽसि, 5–मद्भावं याति, 6–यं यं भावम्, 7–माम् एष्यसि, 8–परमं पुरुषं याति, 10–परं पुरुषमुपैति, 11–अक्षरं पदम्, 13–परमां गतिम्, 15, 16–पुनर्जन्ममुक्तिः । **Chapter IX**—28–कर्मबन्धनमुक्तिः । **Chapter X**—3–सर्वपापमुक्तिः, 11–अज्ञाननाशः, 10–माम् उपयान्ति । **Chapter XI**—54–भक्त्या ज्ञातुं द्रष्टुं तत्त्वेन प्रवेष्टुं शक्यः, 55–माम् एति । **Chapter XII**—मृत्युसंसारसागरात् समुद्धारः, 12–शान्तिः । **Chapter XIII**—12–अमृतम् । **Chapter XIV**—1–परां सिद्धिम्, 2–मम साधर्म्यमागताः, जन्म-मरण-मुक्तिः, 26–ब्रह्मभूयाय कल्पते, 27–अमृतस्य अव्ययस्य ब्रह्मणः प्रतिष्ठा–शाश्वतस्य धर्मस्य एकान्तिकस्य सुखस्य च । **Chapter XV**—4–आद्यं पुरुषम्, 5–अव्ययम् पदम्, 6–तद्धाम परमं मम, 20–कृतकृत्यः । **Chapter XVI**—22–आत्मनः श्रेयः, परां गतिम्, 23–सिद्धिम् । **Chapter XVII**—ॐतत्सत्-ब्रह्मणः निर्देशः । **Chapter XVIII**—46, 47–संसिद्धिम्, सिद्धिम्, 50 ब्रह्मप्राप्तिः, 53–ब्रह्म-भूयाय कल्पते, 55–मां ज्ञात्वा विशते, 56–शाश्वतं पदं अव्ययम्, 58–सर्वदुर्गाणि तरिष्यसि, 62–परां शान्तिम्, शाश्वतं स्थानम्, 65–मामेव एष्यसि, 66–पापेभ्यः मोक्षयिष्यामि, 78–श्रीः विजयः भूतिः ध्रुवा नीतिः ।।

APPENDIX VII

EPITHETS OF PERFECT INDIVIDUALS

Descriptions of persons who have reached perfection as Yogins, Jñānins, Bhaktas etc. are repeated. They are helpful in deciding authorship.

Sthita-prajña (Ch. II)—त्यक्तकाम, इंद्रियनिग्रही, स्थिर, निःस्पृह, निर्मम, निरहंकार, विषयपराङ्मुख, आत्मतुष्ट, प्रसन्नचित्त, सुखदुःखरागद्वेषादिद्वंद्वातीत.

Vidwān (Ch. III)—अनासक्त, निरहंकार, निराशीः, निर्मम, श्रद्धावन्तः, अनसूयन्तः, अध्यात्मचित्त, द्वंद्वातीत, न बुद्धिभेदं जनयेदज्ञानाम्.

Jñāna-Yogin (Ch. IV)—नित्यतृप्त, निराश्रय, निराशीः, यतचित्तात्मा, त्यक्तसर्व-परिग्रह, केवलं शारीरं कर्म कुर्वन् । यदृच्छालाभ-संतुष्ट, सुखदुःखादिद्वंद्वातीत, विमत्सर.

Saṁnyāsa-Yogin (Ch. V)—रागद्वेषादिद्वंद्वातीत, जितेन्द्रिय, सर्वभूतात्मभूतात्मा, कामक्रोधातीत, अन्तःसुख, अंतराराम, छिन्नद्वैध, यतात्मा, समदर्शी, सर्वभूतहितेरत, मोक्षपरायण.

Dhyāna-Yogin (Ch. VI)—जितात्मा, सुखदुःख-द्वंद्वातीत, ज्ञानविज्ञानतृप्तात्मा, कूटस्थ, विजितेन्द्रिय, सर्वत्रसमबुद्धि, सर्वभूतात्मभावनिष्ठ, आत्मौपम्य.

Mad–Bhakta (Ch. XII)—सर्वभूतहितेरत, लोकरत, मानापमानादिद्वंद्वातीत, निर्मम, निरहंकार, संतुष्ट, अनपेक्ष, उदासीन, सर्वारंभत्यागी, अनिकेत, मौनी.

Ātma-Jñānin (Ch. XIII)—आत्मनिग्रह, अनहंकार, विषयवैराग्य, अनासक्त, जन्ममृत्यु-जराव्याधि-दुःखदर्शी, समचित्त, अनन्यभक्त, अमानित्व, अहिंसा पुत्रदारगृहादिषु अनासक्त, विविक्त-देशसेवी, जनसंसदि अरतिः, इष्ट-अनिष्टादिद्वंद्वातीत.

Triguṇātīta (Ch. XIV)—सुखदुःखादिद्वंद्वातीत, निर्विकार, उदासीन, अविचलित, सर्वारंभपरित्यागी.

Mumukṣu (Ch. XV)—निर्मानमोह, जितसंगदोष, अध्यात्मनित्य, विनिवृत्तकाम, सुखदुःखादिद्वन्द्वमुक्त.

Daivī-Sampad (Ch. XVI)—अभय, दान, अहिंसा, भूतदया, सत्य, अक्रोध, त्याग, क्षमा, धृति, शान्ति, निर्मान, स्वाध्याय, ज्ञानयोग-व्यवस्थिति.

Siddhāvasthā (Ch. XVIII)—विशुद्धबुद्धि, आत्मसंयम, विषयत्याग, द्वंद्वातीत, लघु-आशी, ध्यानयोगपर, वैराग्यशील, अहंकारबल-कामक्रोधपरिग्रह-त्यागी.

Summary : Concepts which are repeated often in identical or different terms are given below along with their frequency:

नित्यतृप्त, संतुष्ट 5, निराश्रय, अनिकेत 2, निराशी: निःस्पृह, अनपेक्ष 4, द्वंद्वातीत, निर्द्वंद्व, छिन्नद्वैध 8, विजितात्मा, आत्मवान्, जितेंद्रिय 4, सर्वभूतात्मभूतात्मा, आत्मौपम्य-दृष्टि 8, निर्मम, निरहंकार, निर्मान 8, उद्वेगरहित 3, उदासीन 2, सर्वारंभपरित्यागी 3, अहिंसा 3, वैराग्य, निर्योगक्षेम, अनासक्त 3, विविक्तदेशसेवित्व 3, अध्यात्मज्ञानचिंतन 3, श्रद्धाशील 3, त्यक्तपरिग्रह 3, जन्ममृत्युजराव्याधिदुःखदोषदर्शन 2.

Epithets suggesting Vairāgya and Renunciation

From the identity or similarity in the concepts and phraseology, the descriptions appear to have been composed by one and the same author.

The following concepts and phrases indicate a tendency towards Vairāgya, approaching renunciation :

नित्यतृप्त, निराश्रय, निराशी:, सर्वारंभपरित्यागी, त्यक्तपरिग्रह, विविक्तदेशसेवित्व, उदासीन, निर्योगक्षेम, पुत्रदारगृहविरक्ति.

INTERPOLATIONS OF FIRST PERSON SINGULAR

The first and second authors use the third person singular for Brahman of the Universal Spirit. The interpolations of the third author are in the first person singular. Some illustrations of both are given below.

Chapter :	*Author :*	*Specimen Verses*
II	I	नित्यः सर्वगतः स्थाणुरचलोऽयं सनातनः ॥ 24
	III	तानि सर्वाणि संयम्य युक्त आसीत **मत्परः** ॥ 61
III	I	तस्मात्सर्वगतं ब्रह्म नित्यं यज्ञे प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥ 15
	III	**मयि** सर्वाणि कर्माणि संन्यस्याध्यात्मचेतसा ॥ 30 Also see 33.
IV	I	यज्ञशिष्टामृतभुजो यान्ति **ब्रह्म** सनातनम् ॥ 31
	III	त्यक्त्वा देहं पुनर्जन्म नैति **मामेति** सोऽर्जुन ॥ 9 Also see 10, 11 and 35.
V	I	**ब्रह्मण्याधाय** कर्माणि सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा करोति यः ॥ 10
	III	भोक्तारं यज्ञतपसां . . ज्ञात्वा **मां** शांतिमृच्छति ॥ 29
VI	I	उपैति शान्तरजसं ब्रह्मभूतमकल्मषम् ॥ 27
	III	मनः संयम्य **मत्-चित्तो** युक्त आसीत **मत्परः** ॥ 14 Also see 28 of I and 15,30,31,42,of III
VIII	II	**परं पुरुषं दिव्यं** याति पार्थानुचिन्तयन् ॥ 8
	III	अन्तकाले च **मामेव**...स्मरन्...**स मद्भावं**...याति ॥ Also see 10,22 of II and 13–16,21 of III. Note the effect of 21 on the Original
XIII	II	एतद्यो वेत्ति तं प्राहुः क्षेत्रज्ञ इति **तद्विदः** ॥ 1
	III	क्षेत्रज्ञं चापि **मां** विद्धि सर्वक्षेत्रेषु भारत ॥ 2 Also see 25 of II and 18 of III

Chapter :	*Author :*	*Specimen Verses*
XIV	**II**	जन्ममृत्युजरादुःखैर्विमुक्तोऽमृतमश्नुते ।। 20
	III	ब्रह्मणो हि प्रतिष्ठा-**अहम्-अमृत**स्याव्ययस्य च ।। Also see 27,19 and 26
XVIII	**II**	सर्वभूतेषू येनैकं **भावम**व्ययमीक्षते । अविभक्तं विभक्तेषु.... ।।20।।
	III	सर्वकर्माणि... .... **मद्**व्यपाश्रयः । **मत्प्रसादादवाप्नोति** शाश्वतं पदमव्ययम् ।। 56

APPENDIX IX

EPITHETS AND NAMES ADDRESSED TO KRṢNA

The names and epithets used for Kṛṣṇa by the three authors in each chapter are given below, in an unclassified form. The second author uses very few epithets. The word नारायण does not occur in the Gītā.

Chapter : *Names, adjectives and epithets*

I ——अच्युत, केशव 2, कृष्ण 2, गोविंद, जनार्दन, माधव, मधुसूदन, हृषीकेश.

II ——अरिसूदन, केशव, गोविंद, मधुसूदन, हृषीकेश.

III ——केशव, जनार्दन, वार्ष्णेय.

IV ——भूतानाम् ईश्वरः.

V ——कृष्ण, सर्वलोकमहेश्वर.

VI ——कृष्ण 4, मधुसूदन.

VII ——वासुदेवः सर्वम्.

VIII——मधुसूदन, पुरुषोत्तम.

IX ——भूतमहेश्वर.

X ——आदिदेव, जगत्पते, जनार्दन, देवदेव, भगवन् 2, भवान्, पुरुषोत्तम, लोकमहेश्वर, योगिन्, विभो, वृष्णीनां वासुदेवः.

XI ——अक्षर, अव्यय, अनन्त, अनंतरूप, अच्युत, आदिदेव, कमलपत्राक्ष, काल, केशव 2, कृष्ण 2, किरीटिन्, गदिन्, चतुर्भुज, चक्रिन्, जगन्निवास, जनार्दन, देव, देवदेव, देववर, देवेश, परमेश्वर, परब्रह्म, परंधाम, पवित्र, परम-पुरुष, पुराण पुरुष, सनातन पुरुष, पुरुषोत्तम, प्रभो, महाबाहो, यादव, योगेश्वर, वासुदेव, विश्वरूप, विश्वेश्वर, विश्वनिधान 2, विष्णो, विश्वमूर्ते2, शाश्वत धर्मगोप्ता, सनातन पुरुष, सहस्रबाहो, हरिः, सर्व.

XII ——त्वाम्.

XIII ——… … …

XIV ——प्रभो.

XV ——ईश्वर, अक्षरादुत्तमः, पुरुषोत्तम, वेदान्तकृत्, वेदैःवेद्यः, वेदविद्.

XVI ——… … …

XVII ——कृष्ण.

XVIII——केशिनिषूदन, कृष्ण 2, महाबाहो, महात्मन्, योगेश्वर, वासुदेव, हरि, हृषीकेश.

APPENDIX X

EPITHETS AND NAMES USED FOR ARJUN

The names, adjectives and epithets used for Arjuna by the three authors in each chapter are given below in an unclassified form. The figures indicate the frequency. The second author has used very few epithets.

Chapter : *Names, adjectives and epithets*

I —कौन्तेय, गुडाकेश, धनंजय, पाण्डव, पार्थ.

II —अर्जुन, कौन्तेय 2, कुरुनंदन, गुडाकेश, धनंजय, परंतप, पार्थ 4, भारत, महाबाहो 2.

III —अनघ, अर्जुन, कौन्तेय, पार्थ 2, भरतर्षभ, महाबाहो.

IV —अर्जुन 3, परंतप, पांडव, भारत 2.

V —महाबाहो 2.

VI —अर्जुन 2, कुरुनंदन, कौन्तेय, तात, पांडव, पार्थ, महाबाहो.

VII —अर्जुन, धनंजय, परंतप, पार्थ 2, भारत.

VIII—अर्जुन 2, कौन्तेय, देहभृतांवर, पार्थ 4, भरतर्षभ.

IX —अर्जुन 2, कौन्तेय, धनंजय, परंतप, पार्थ 2.

X —अर्जुन 2, कुरुश्रेष्ठ, गुडाकेश, धनंजय, परंतप, महाबाहो.

XI —अर्जुन 3, किरीटी, कुरुप्रवीर, गुडाकेश, धनंजय, पांडव 2, पार्थ भारत, सव्यसाचिन्.

XII —धनंजय, पार्थ.

XIII—कौन्तेय 2, भरतर्षभ.

XIV—अनघ, कुरुनन्दन, पांडव, भरतर्षभ, भारत 4.

XV —भारत 2.

XVI—कौन्तेय 2, पांडव, पार्थ 2, भारत.

XVII—भारत.

XVIII—अर्जुन 2, कौन्तेय 2, धनंजय 2, धनुर्धर, पुरुषव्याघ्र, पार्थ 6, परंतप 4, भरतर्षभ, भरतसत्तम, महाबाहो.

APPENDIX XI

IMPERATIVE AND POTENTIAL MOODS

The exhortations by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna in the composition of the three authors are given below. Note the difference in the language and the nature of the exhortations. The chapters (in parentheses) and the verses are indicated by the figures.

I Author—(II) 25, 26, 27 न शोचितुमर्हसि (II) 47 मा फलेषु, मा कर्मफलहेतुर्भूः, मा ते सङ्गोऽस्त्वकर्मणि (II) 49 बुद्धौ शरणमन्विच्छ (II) 50 योगाय युज्यस्व (III) 8 कुरु कर्म त्वम् (III) 9 कर्म समाचर (III) 19 कर्म समाचर (IV) 32 विद्धि (IV) 42 आतिष्ठ उत्तिष्ठ (V) 8 नैव... मन्येत (VI) 10 योगी युञ्जीत सततम् (VI) 23 तं विद्याद्दुःख... योक्तव्यो योगः (VI) 25 उपरमेत्, न किञ्चिच्चिन्तयेत्, (VI) 23 वशं नयेत् (VI) 46 योगी भव.

II Author—(VIII) 27 योगयुक्तो भव (XIII) 3 समासेन शृणु (XIII) 19 विद्धि, विद्धि (XIII) 26 विद्धि (XIV) 7 विद्धि (XIV) 8 विद्धि (XVII) 2 शृणु (XVII) 7 शृणु (XVII) 12 विद्धि (XVIII) 4 शृणु (XVIII) 13 निबोध (XVIII) 19 शृणु (XVIII) 21 विद्धि (XVIII) 29 शृणु (XVIII) 36 शृणु (XVIII) 48 शृणु (XVIII) 48 कर्म न त्यजेत् (XVIII) 50 निबोध.

III Author—(II) 3 क्लैब्यं मा स्म गमः (II) 31 न विकम्पितुमर्हसि (II) 37 उत्तिष्ठ युद्धाय... (II) 38 युद्धाय युज्यस्व (III) 20 कर्म कर्तुमर्हसि (III) 30 मयि...संन्यस्य निराशीर्निर्ममो भूत्वा युध्यस्व (III) 41 पाप्मानं प्रजहि कामम् (III) 43 कामरूपं शत्रुं जहि (IV) 15 कुरु कर्म (V) 20 न प्रहृष्येत्, न उद्विजेत् (VI) 14 युक्त आसीत मत्परः (VII) 1 शृणु (VII) 5 विद्धि (VII) 10 विद्धि (VII) 12 विद्धि (VIII) 7 मामनुस्मर युध्य च (IX) 27 तत् कुरुष्व मदर्पणम् (IX) 33 भजस्व माम् (IX) 34 मन्मना भव...मां नमस्कुरु (X) 1 शृणु (X) 27 विद्धि (X) 41 अवगच्छ (XI) 5 पश्य (XI) 6 पश्य, पश्य (XI) 7 पश्य (XI) 8 पश्य (XI) 33 उत्तिष्ठ, यशो लभस्व, जित्वा

भुंक्ष्व राज्यं समृद्धम्, निमित्तमात्रं भव (XI) 34 युध्यस्व (XI) 49 प्रपश्य (XII) 8 मय्येव मन आधत्स्व मयि बुद्धिं निवेशय (XII) 9 मामिच्छाप्तुम् (XII) 10 मत्कर्मपरमो भव (XII) 11 सर्व-कर्म-फलत्यागं कुरु (XVI) 5 मा शुचः (XVI) 6 शृणु (XVI) 21 एतत्त्रयं त्यजेत् (XVI) 24 शास्त्रं प्रमाणम् ज्ञात्वा शास्त्रविधानोक्तं कर्म कर्तुमिहार्हसि (XVI) 48 कर्म न त्यजेत् (XVIII) 57 कर्माणि मयि संन्यस्य बुद्धियोग-मुपाश्रित्य मच्चित्तः भव (XVIII) 62 शरणं गच्छ (XVIII) 63 यथेच्छसि तथा कुरु (XVIII) 64 शृणु (XVIII) 65 मन्मना भव, मां नमस्कुरु (XVIII) ६६ सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज (XVIII) ६७ इदं ते… …न वाच्यम् ।

PROBABLE AUDIENCE AND READERS OF THE GĪTĀ

The purpose of the following compilation is to find out the probable audience which the authors of the Gītā had in their mind. The words and phrases indicating class of listeners or readers are recorded as they occur in the various chapters, without classification according to the authors. The figures indicate the number of the verses.

Chapter II—11 पंडिता: 13 धीर: 16 तत्त्वदर्शिभि: 42 वेदवादरता: 43 स्वर्गपरा: 46 ब्राह्मणस्य विजानत: 56 मुनि: 59 निराहारस्य 69 मुने: .

Chapter III—3 सांख्यानाम्-योगिनाम् 9 लोक: 13 यज्ञ-उपासका: 17 मानव: 19 पूरुष: 21 श्रेष्ठ: , जन: , लोक: , मनुष्या: 25 विद्वान्-अविद्वान् 26 अज्ञान-विद्वान् 28 तत्त्वविद् 29 कृत्स्नविद्-अकृत्स्नविद् 31 मानवा: 33 ज्ञानवान् 36 पुरुष: .

Chapter IV—2 राजर्षय: 3 भक्त: 10 ज्ञानतपसा पूता: 12 देवतापूजका: 15 मुमुक्षुभि: I6 कवय: 18 बुद्धिमान् 19 ज्ञानी, पंडितम्, बुधा: 21–23 मुक्तस्य 25–32 यज्ञ, तप, योगाभ्यास, स्वाध्याय-ज्ञान इ. उपासका: 34 ज्ञानी-तत्त्वदर्शी 36 पाप: , पापकृत्तम: 39 ज्ञानी 40 संशयात्मा 41 आत्मवन्तम्.

Chapter V—3 संन्यासी 4 पंडिता: 5 सांख्यवादी-कर्मवादी 6 मुनि: 7 योगयुक्त: 8 तत्त्वविद् 10 ब्रह्मवादी 11–12 योगी 17 ज्ञानी 18 पंडिता: 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, ब्रह्मवादी 25 ऋषी 26 यति: 28 मुनि: .

Chapter VI—1 संन्यासी 3 मुनि: 4 संन्यासी 8 ज्ञानी-योगी 10 योगी 15, 27, 28, 38 योगाभ्यासी ब्रह्मजिज्ञासू 47 योगी, तपस्वी, ज्ञानी, कर्मवादी.

Chapter VII—1 योगी च भक्त: 3 सिद्धि–वादी 15 दुष्कृतिन: नराधमा: 16 सुकृतिन: भक्ता:–आर्त, जिज्ञासू, अर्थार्थी, ज्ञानी 17, 18, 19 ज्ञानी भक्त: 20 अन्यदेवता-पूजका: 23 देव-पूजका: 24, 25 अबुद्धय:, मूढ: लोक: 28 भक्त: 29 ब्रह्मवादी भक्त:.

Chapter VIII—9–10 प्रयाणकाले योगी 11–13 भक्त-योगी 14 योगी भक्त: 15 सिद्ध-भक्त: 16 ब्रह्मवादी भक्त: 23 योगाभ्यासी-ब्रह्मवादी 28 योगी.

Chapter IX—3 अश्रद्धधाना: 11, 12 मूढा:, आसुरा: 13 महात्मान: भक्ता: 14 भक्ता: 15 ज्ञानवादी भक्ता: 16, 24 यज्ञउपासका: 22 अनन्यभक्त:

23 अन्यदेवतापूजकाः 25 देवपूजकाः, पितृपूजकाः, भूतपूजकाः, मद्भक्ताः 27 यज्ञ-दान-तपः कुर्वन्तः भक्ताः 26 निर्धनभक्ताः 28 संन्यासी 30 सुदुराचारः 32 स्त्रियः, वैश्याः, शूद्राः, पापयोनयः भक्ताः 33 ब्राह्मणाः, राजर्षयः 33 सर्वलोकः.

Chapter X 3 पापी भक्तः 13 सर्वे ऋषयः 20–38 विविध-विभूति-उपासकाः.

Chapter XI 36 सिद्धसङ्घाः 48, 53 वेदाध्ययन, यज्ञ, दान, तपः इ. उपासकाः 55 मद्भक्तः.

Chapter XII 1 सततयुक्तभक्ताः, अव्यक्त-तत्त्व-उपासकाः 3, 4, 5 निर्गुण-अव्यक्त-ब्रह्म-उपासकाः 6–7 कर्मयोगिनः भक्ताः 9 अभ्यासयोगी भक्तः 10 कर्मवादी भक्तः 11 कर्मयोगी भक्तः 13–19 श्रद्धधानाः मत्परमाः भक्ताः.

Chapter XIII 7–11 ज्ञानसंपन्नाः भक्ताः 24–25 ध्यानयोग-सांख्ययोग-कर्मयोग-उपासकाः, श्रुतिपरायणाः अन्योपासकाः.

Chapter XIV 1 मुनयः 2 मम साधर्म्यमागताः 18 सत्त्वस्थाः राजसाः तामसाः 22–26 गुणातीताः भक्ताः.

Chapter XV 5 अमूढाः 10 विमूढाः, ज्ञानचक्षुषः 11 योगिनः, अचेतसः 19 असंमूढः, सर्वविद्, 20 बुद्धिमान्.

Chapter XVI 1–4 दैवीम् सम्पदम् अभिजातः 6–20 आसुरः भूतसर्गः 23–24 शास्त्रविरोधकाः, शास्त्रप्रमाणाः.

Chapter XVII 1–20 यज्ञ-दान-तपः-कर्म उपासकाः 24 ब्रह्मवादिनः 25 मोक्षकांक्षिणः 28 अश्रद्धायुक्ताः.

Chapter XVIII 1 संन्यास–त्याग–भेद–जिज्ञासुः 2 कवयः, विचक्षणाः 3 मनीषिणः 5 मनीषिणाम् 10 मेधावी छिन्नसंशयः 12 संन्यासिनाम् 16 दुर्मतिः 17 बुद्धियुक्तः कर्मयोगी 41 ब्राह्मण-क्षत्रिय-विशां शूद्राणाम् कर्माणि 45 स्वकर्मनिरतः नरः 46 मानवः 49 नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धि परमां संन्यासेनाधिगच्छति। 50 सिद्धि प्राप्तः 53 ब्रह्मभूयः 54 ब्रह्मभूतः 56 सर्वकर्माणि कुर्वाणः 57 बुद्धियुक्तः 61 सर्वभूतानि 67 अतपस्काय अभक्ताय अशुश्रूषवे 68 मद्भक्तेषु 69 मनुष्येषु 70 श्रद्धावान् अनसूयः नरः

SPECIMEN OF TWO MIXED CHAPTERS–SHOWING DIFFERENCE IN VOCABULARY

The interpolations by the third author in the chapters of the first two authors are suggested by a change in the vocabulary. A probable classification of the words is given below.

Chapter IV First and Third Authors

I Author–कवयः, कर्म-अकर्म-विकर्म, बुद्धिमान्, कामसंकल्पवर्जिताः, ज्ञानाग्नि-दग्ध-कर्माणम्, पण्डितम्, बुधाः, ज्ञानावस्थितचेतसः, यज्ञाय कर्म, ब्रह्मार्पणम् इ. ब्रह्माग्नौ, जुह्वति, आत्मसंयम-योगाग्नौ, ज्ञानदीपिते, द्रव्ययज्ञ, तपोयज्ञ, योगयज्ञ, स्वाध्यायज्ञानयज्ञ, समिद्धः अग्निः, ज्ञानेन सदृशं पवित्रम्, आत्मनि ज्ञानं विन्दति, श्रद्धावान्, शान्तिम्, संशयात्मा, योगसंन्यस्तकर्माणम्, ज्ञान-संछिन्नसंशयम्, आत्मवन्तम्, संशयं छित्त्वा, आतिष्ठ, उत्तिष्ठ.

III Author— राजर्षयः, विवस्वान्, मनुः, पुरातनः, भक्तः, रहस्यम्, उत्तमम्, अपरं परम्, भूतानामीश्वरः, प्रकृतिम् अधिष्ठाय, आत्ममायया संभवामि, धर्मस्य ग्लानिः, अधर्मस्य अभ्युत्थानम्, आत्मानं सृजामि, साधूनाम्, धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय, युगे युगे, दिव्यम्, माम्, मम, मया, मे, चातुर्वर्ण्यम्, गुणकर्म-विभागशः, मुमुक्षुभिः, निराश्रयः, निराशीः, त्यक्तसर्व-परिग्रहः, यदृच्छालाभसंतुष्टः, द्वंद्वातीतः, प्रणिपातेन, पापकृत्तमः, संतरिष्यसि.

Chapter VIII—Second and Third Authors

II Author—परमं पुरुषम्, अनुचिन्तयन्, अणोः अणीयांसम्, अनुस्मरेत्, आदित्यवर्णम्, भक्त्या युक्तः, योगबलेन, भ्रुवोः मध्ये प्राणम् आवेश्य, अक्षरम्, संग्रहेण, ब्रह्मणः, अव्यक्तात्, ब्रह्मविदः जनाः, वेदेषु-यज्ञेषु-तपःसु-दानेषु पुण्यफलम्, आद्यम् स्थानम्.

III Author—पुरुषोत्तम, अधिभूत, अधिदैव, अधियज्ञ, अध्यात्म, अहम् एव, मामेव स्मरन्, मद्भावं याति, नास्ति संशयः, मामनुस्मर, युध्य, मामेव एष्यसि, असंशयः, मूर्ध्नि आधाय प्राणम्, अनन्यचेताः, अहं सुलभः, दुःखालयम्, अशाश्वतम्, पुनर्जन्म, धाम परमं मम.

Special Vocabulary of the third Author

Ch. VII—माया, दैवीआसुरी, वासुदेवः सर्वम्, महात्मा, द्वंद्वमोहेन, ज्ञानम् विज्ञानम्, योनिः, पौरुषम्, बीजम्, धर्माविरुद्धः कामः, नराधमाः Ch. IX राजविद्या-राजगुह्यम्, ऐश्वरं योगम्, भूतमहेश्वरम्, नमस्यन्तः, योगक्षेमम्, धर्मात्मा Ch. X– भूयः श्रृणु कथय, विभूति, दिव्यम्, श्रीमत्, भगवान्, पुरुषोत्तम, नीतिः, Ch. XI– प्रभो, योगेश्वर, विश्वेश्वर, विश्वरूप, परमेश्वर, दिव्यचक्षु, अद्भुत, विस्मय, उग्रम्, भयानकानि, कृताञ्जलिः, नमस्कृत्वा, प्रणम्य Ch. XII– मृत्युसंसारसागरः, सर्वभूतहितेरताः, उदासीन, धर्म्यामृतम्, पर्युपासते Ch. XIII– परमात्मा-आत्मा, ईश्वरः, परमेश्वरः Ch. XVIII– शरणं गच्छ, अवशः इ.

CLASSIFIED VOCABULARY OF AUTHORS AND TOPICS

The vocabulary of the three authors shows a gradual evolution and enrichment of concepts and terms.

Philosophy and Metaphysics

I Author—देहिन्, शरीरिन्, सांख्य, योग, ज्ञानम्, नैष्कर्म्यम्, सिद्धिम्, प्रकृतिः, गुणाः, अव्यक्तम्, व्यक्तम्, पुराणः, अच्छेद्यः, सनातनः, कर्मबन्धम्, द्विविधा निष्ठा, ज्ञानम् आत्मनि विन्दति, ब्रह्मसंस्पर्शम्, ब्रह्मभूतम्, योगसेवया, योगसंज्ञितम्, मनः नियम्य, आत्मनि वशम्, कर्मयोग, बुद्धियोग, ज्ञानयोग, चित्तम्, कामसंकल्प.

II Author—दिव्यम् पुरुषम्, अनुचिन्तयन्, अनुस्मरेत्, पुराणम्, आदित्य-वर्णम्, अव्यक्तम्, व्यक्तम्, सनातनः भावः, भक्त्या लभ्यः अनन्यया, शुक्ल-कृष्णे गती, आवृत्तिम्, अनावृत्तिम्, आद्यम् स्थानम्, क्षेत्र-क्षेत्रज्ञयोः, ब्रह्म, महाभूतानि, अहंकारः, प्रकृतिम्-पुरुषम्, अनादी, प्रकृतिजान् गुणान्, देहिनम्, अश्वत्थम्, छेत्तुम्, असंगशस्त्रेण, कर्मचोदना, कर्मसंग्रहः, पंचकारणानि, सांख्ये कृतान्ते, गुण-संख्याने, ऋषिभिः, छन्दोभिः, गीतम्, ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैः, असत्–सत्.

III Author—अष्टधा प्रकृति, दैवी माया, श्रद्धया, तनुम् अर्चितुम्, देवयजः, व्यक्तिम् आपन्नम्, परा-अपरा प्रकृती, वासुदेवः सर्वम्, योगमाया, साधिभूत, साधि-यज्ञ, साधिदैव, ज्ञानं-विज्ञानम्, योनिः, पौरुषम्, स्वभावः, पुरुषः, अक्षरम्, ओमित्येकाक्षरम् ब्रह्म, राजविद्या, राजगुह्यम्, भूतमहेश्वर, लोकमहेश्वर, विभूतियोगः, परं ब्रह्म, भगवन्, पुरुषोत्तम, देव देव, अध्यात्मविद्या, परमेश्वर, प्रभो, महायोगेश्वर, हरिः, विश्वतोमुखम्, विश्वेश्वर, विश्वरूप, किरीटिनम् गदिनम्, चक्रिणम्, चतुर्भुजम्, विष्णो, जगन्निवास, मानुषम् रूपम्, कूटस्थम्, परमात्मा, आत्मा, शब्दब्रह्म, महद्-ब्रह्मयोनिः, सर्वस्य हृदि सन्निविष्टः, प्रकृतिः त्वाम् नियोक्ष्यति, कर्मणा निबद्धः अवशः करिष्यसि, यन्त्रारूढानि भूतानि, अहम् पापेभ्यः मोक्षयिष्यामि, आत्ममायया संभवामि, सेवया प्रणिपातेन ज्ञानम्, शास्त्रविधिम्, शास्त्रविधानोक्तम्, शास्त्रं प्रमाणम्, सर्वभूतस्थम्, आत्मौपम्येन, ईश्वरः, अध्यात्मम्.

Religious Practices

I Author—यज्ञकर्माणि, द्रव्ययज्ञाः, तपोयज्ञाः, स्वाध्यायज्ञानयज्ञाः, ब्रह्मणः मुखे विततः, यज्ञे ब्रह्म, देवान् भावयत, आत्मशुद्धये कर्म, तदात्मानः, तत्परायणः,

ब्रह्मार्पणम्, पापम्, योगम् युञ्जीत, संन्यस्त-संकल्पः, संकल्पप्रभवान्, योगारूढस्य, आत्मनि आत्मानम् पश्यन्, मनः आत्मनि वशम् नयेत्, योगः योक्तव्यः.

II Author—अभ्यासयोगयुक्तेन नान्यगामिना चेतसा, भक्त्या युक्तः, योगबलेन, भ्रुवोर्मध्ये प्राणमावेश्य, दिव्यम् पुरुषम् उपैति, ब्रह्मविदः वेदेषु यज्ञेषु तपःस्सु दानेषु पुण्यफलम्, आत्मना आत्मानम् पश्यन्ति, श्रुतिपरायणाः अन्येभ्यः उपासते, आद्यं पुरुषम् प्रपद्ये, श्रद्धयान्विताः यजन्ते, ॐ तत्सत्, ब्रह्मवादिनाम् क्रियाः, देवद्विज-गुरु-प्राज्ञ-पूजनम्, स्वाध्यायाभ्यसनम्, मौनम्, यक्षराक्षसान् प्रेतभूतगणान् यजन्ते, विधिहीनम्, विधानोक्ताः, मन्त्रहीनम्, अदक्षिणम्, असृष्टान्नम्.

III Author—मनः हृदि निरुध्य, प्राणम् मूर्धिन आधाय, योगधारणाम्, नमस्यन्तः, जपयज्ञः, मौनम्, स्तुतिभिः स्तुवन्ति, नमस्कृत्वा, प्रणम्य, अनन्यभक्त्या, शरणम्, त्रैविद्याः, त्रयीधर्मम्, मद्याजिनः, माम् नमस्कुरु, पत्रम्-पुष्पम्-फलम्-तोयम्, मदर्पणम्, नित्ययुक्ताः, माम् गतिम्, योगेन ध्यायन्तः, श्रद्धया उपेताः, सर्व-धर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकम् शरणम् व्रज, अहम् पापेभ्यः मोक्षयिष्यामि, नामयज्ञैः, अभ्यर्च्य, अर्चितुम्.

Ethics and Morals

I Author—बुद्धौ शरणम् अन्विच्छ, सुकृत-दुष्कृते, कर्मणि अधिकारः, पापाः, मिथ्याचारः, इन्द्रियारामः, इन्द्रियाणि-मनः-बुद्धिः-सः, अधायुः, ज्ञानाग्नि-दग्ध-कर्माणम्, आत्मना आत्मा जितः, आत्मवन्तम्, अनात्मनः, आत्मना आत्मानम् उद्धरेत्.

II Author—प्रमादालस्यनिद्रा, लोभः, त्रिविधः आहारः, त्रिविधः तपः, शारीरम्-वाङ्मयम्-मानसम्-तपः, त्रिविधम् दानम्, यज्ञे-तपसि-दाने स्थितिः, श्रद्धया-अश्रद्धया, पावनानि, न्याय्यम्-विपरीतम्, धृति-उत्साह-समन्वितः कर्ता, धर्मकामार्थान्, त्रिविधम् सुखम्.

III Author—द्वंद्व-मोह-निर्मुक्ताः, क्षमा, नीतिः, निर्वैरः, सर्वभूतहितेरताः, अद्वेष्टा, मैत्रः, निरहंकारः, निर्ममः, उदासीनः, सर्वारंभपरित्यागी, अनिकेतः, वैराग्यम्, पुत्रदारगृहादिषु अनभिष्वङ्गः, विविक्तदेशसेवित्वम्, तत्वज्ञानार्थ-दर्शनम्, शास्त्र-विधम्, सर्वेषु भूतेषु समः, काम-क्रोध-लोभम् त्यजेत्, कुलधर्माः, जातिधर्माः, अधर्मः, वर्णसंकरः, उत्सन्न-कुलधर्माणाम्, नरकाय, निर्योगक्षेमः, योगक्षेमम् वहामि, चातुर्वर्ण्यम्, गुणकर्मविभागशः, स्वधर्म-परधर्म, व्यवसायात्मिका, व्यवसितः.

Ultimate Goals

I Author—श्रेयः, कर्मबन्धम्, जन्मबन्ध-विनिर्मुक्ताः, अनामयम् पदम्,

अमृतत्त्वम्, पराम् शान्तिम्, आत्यन्तिकम् सुखम्, अशुभात् मोक्ष्यसे, नैष्ठिकीम् शान्तिम्, ब्रह्मसंस्पर्शम्, ब्रह्मभूतम्, अपुनरावृत्तिम्, आत्मविशुद्धये.

II Author—मृत्युम् तरन्ति, अमृतम्, ब्रह्म गच्छन्ति, परम् यान्ति, न भूयः अभिजायते, अमलान् लोकान्, मूढयोनिषु, कर्मसंगिषु, जन्म-मृत्यु-जरा-दुःखैः विमुक्तः, त्रिविधा गतिः, मोक्षः, आत्मबुद्धिप्रसादजम् सुखम्.

III Author—जरा-मरण-मोक्षः, न पुनर्जन्म दुःखालयम्, अशाश्वतम्, अशुभात् कर्मबन्धनैः शुभाशुभफलैः मोक्ष्यसे, मृत्युसंसारवर्त्मनि, अनित्यम् असुखम् इमं लोकम्, माम् भजस्व, शान्तिम्, बुद्धियोगं ददामि, अज्ञानम् नाशयामि, मृत्यु-संसारसारसागरात् समुद्धर्ता, सिद्धिम्, नरके पतन्ति, आसुरीषु योनिषु क्षिपामि, त्रिविधम् नरकद्वारम्, स्वर्गद्वारम्, शुभान् लोकान्, नरके वासः, कीर्तिम्-अकीर्तिम्, ममुक्षोः, मोक्षपरायणः.

Particular Words and Phrases

I Author—योग, तत्त्ववित्, आत्मवन्तम्, ज्ञानासिना, ज्ञानाग्निना, योगस्थः, ज्ञाननिर्धूतकल्मषाः, प्रशान्तमनसम्, ब्रह्मभूतम्.

II Author—यज्ञ-दान-तपः कवयः, विचक्षणाः, मनीषिणः मेधावी, निर्विकारः, समासेन उदाहृतम्, समासेन शृणु.

III Author—मय्यासक्तमनाः, मदाश्रयः, युक्तात्मा, महात्मा, नित्ययुक्तः, नराधमाः, आसुरम्, दैवम्, उदासीनः, नास्ति संशयः, असंशयम्, गुह्यम्, गुह्य-तमम्, अनसूयवे, ज्ञानविज्ञानसहितम्, योगक्षेमम्, भूयः शृणु, भूयः कथय, आश्चर्याणि, अद्भुतदर्शनम्, दिव्यम्-दिव्यम्-दिव्यम्, भीताः, विस्मिताः भयानकानि, उग्ररूपः, वहु-वहु-वहु, नमो-नमो-नमः, प्रियः प्रियायाः, गर्भम् दधामि, बीजप्रदः पिता, प्रभो, भगवन्, क्रूरान्, नराधमान्, काम-क्रोध-परायणाः, भौगैश्वर्यप्रसक्तानाम् अद्भुतम्, उत्साद्यन्ते, उत्सेदेयुः, उत्सन्नकुलधर्माणाम्, राक्षसीम् आसुरीम् प्रकृतिम्, साधुम्, व्यवसितः, व्यवसायात्मिका, पापयोनयः, श्रीमत्, ऊर्जितम्, विभूतिमत्, श्रद्दधानः, अनुद्विग्नमनाः, परंपराप्राप्तम्, पुरातनः, सनातनः, उत्तिष्ठ, क्लैब्यं, पौरुषम् नृषु, धर्माविरुद्धो कामः, धर्म्यम्, सर्वधर्मान्, द्वंद्वातीतः, छिन्नद्वैधाः, सर्वभूतहितेरताः, धर्मस्य ग्लानिः, धर्मसंस्थापना, अनार्यजुष्टम्, लोकसंग्रहः, संकरः, यदृच्छा, सर्व-भूतस्थमात्मानम्, आत्मौपम्येन, बलम्, तेजः, परंतप, नष्टान्.

APPENDIX XV

COSMOLOGICAL CONCEPTS

The diverse cosmological concepts of the three authors occurring in different sections of the Gītā are classified in this table.

सत्-असत्–

Ch. II (16) नासतो विद्यते भावो नाभावो विद्यते सतः ।

Ch. IX (19) सत् असत् च अहम् ।

Ch. XI (37) त्वमक्षरं सत् असत् तत्परं यत् ।

Ch. XIII (12) न सत् तत् न असत् उच्यते ।

Ch. XVII (23) ॐ तत् सत् इति निर्देशः ब्रह्मणः त्रिविध स्मृतः ।

व्यक्त-अव्यक्त–

Ch. II (28) अव्यक्तादीनि भूतानि, व्यक्तमध्यानि, अव्यक्तनिधनानि ।

Ch. VIII (18-22)—अव्यक्ताद् व्यक्तयः सर्वाः प्रभवन्ति अहरागमे ।
रात्र्यागमे प्रलीयन्ते तत्रैवाव्यक्त-संज्ञके ॥ अन्यः अव्यक्तः
भावः अव्यक्तात् सनातनः न विनश्यति । सः परः पुरुषः भक्त्या लभ्यः ।

Ch. XII (3,4) ये तु अक्षरम् अनिर्देश्यम् अव्यक्तं पर्युपासते ॥

परा-अपरा प्रकृती–

Ch. VII (4-5) भूमिरापोऽनलो वायुः खं मनो बुद्धिरेव च ।
अहंकार इतीयं मे भिन्ना प्रकृतिरष्टधा ॥ 4 ॥
अपरेयमितस्त्वन्यां प्रकृतिं विद्धि मे पराम् ।
जीवभूतां महाबाहो ययेदं धार्यते जगत् ॥ 5 ॥
अहं कृत्स्नस्य जगतः प्रभवः प्रलयस्तथा ॥ 6 ॥
ये चैव सात्त्विका भावा राजसास्तामसाश्च ये ।
मत्त एवेति तान् विद्धि . . . . . ॥ 12 ॥

Ch. IX (7-8) सर्व भूतानि कौन्तेय प्रकृतिं यान्ति मामिकाम् ॥
कल्पक्षये पुनस्तानि कल्पादौ विसृजाम्यहम् ॥ 7 ॥
प्रकृतिं स्वामवष्टभ्य विसृजामि पुनः पुनः । भूतग्रामम् . .॥ 8 ॥
मयाऽध्यक्षेण प्रकृतिः सूयते सचराचरम् ॥ 10 ॥

क्षर अक्षर–

Ch. VIII (3-4) अक्षरं ब्रह्म परमम्.....। अधिभूतं क्षरो भावः ...।।

Ch. XV (16-18) द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके क्षरश्चाक्षर एव च।
क्षरः सर्वाणि भूतानि कूटस्थोऽक्षर उच्यते ।। 16 ।।
उत्तमः पुरुषस्त्वन्यः परमात्मेत्युदाहृतः ।। 17 ।।
यस्मात् क्षरमतीतोऽहमक्षरादपि चोत्तमः ।।
अतोऽस्मि लोके वेदे च प्रथितः पुरुषोत्तमः ।। 18 ।।

योगेश्वर कृष्ण-वासुदेव–

Ch. 10 (3-8) यो मामजमनादिं च वेत्ति लोकमहेश्वरम् ।। 3 ।।
भवन्ति भावा भूतानां मत्त एव पृथग्विधाः ।। 5 ।।
अहं सर्वस्य प्रभवो मत्तः सर्वं प्रवर्तते ।। 8 ।।
परं ब्रह्म...पुरुषं शाश्वतं...पुरुषोत्तम ।। 12, 15 ।।
वृष्णीनां वासुदेवोऽस्मि ।। 37 ।।

Ch. 11 (32, 46) तेनैव रूपेण चतुर्भुजेन...भव विश्वमूर्ते ।। 46 ।।
कालोऽस्मि लोकक्षयकृत् प्रवृद्धः ।। 32 ।।

क्षेत्र क्षेत्रज्ञ–

Ch. 13 (1-26) इदं शरीरं कौन्तेय क्षेत्रमित्यभिधीयते ।
एतद्यो वेत्ति तं प्राहुः क्षेत्रज्ञ इति तद्विदः ।। 1 ।।
क्षेत्रज्ञं चापि मां विद्धि सर्वक्षेत्रेषु भारत ।। 2 ।।
महाभूतान्यहंकारो...एतत् क्षेत्रम् ... ... ।। 5, 6 ।।
अविभक्तं च भूतेषु विभक्तमिव च स्थितम् ।। 16 ।।
सत्त्वं स्थावर-जङ्गमम्.....क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञसंयोगात् ।। 26 ।।

प्रकृति-पुरुष–

Ch. 13 (19-29) प्रकृतिं पुरुषं चैव विद्ध्यनादी उभावपि ।
विकारांश्च गुणांश्चैव विद्धि प्रकृतिसंभवान् ।। 19 ।।
पुरुषः प्रकृतिस्थो हि भुंक्ते प्रकृतिजान् गुणान् ।। 21 ।।
प्रकृत्यैव च कर्माणि क्रियमाणानि सर्वशः ।
यः पश्यति तथात्मानम् अकर्तारं स पश्यति ।। 29 ।।

Ch. 14 (5) सत्त्वं रजस्तम इति गुणाः प्रकृतिसंभवाः ।
निबध्नन्ति महाबाहो देहे देहिनमव्ययम् ।। 5 ।।

महद्ब्रह्म-पिता (ईश्वर)–

Ch. 14 (3, 4) मम योनिर्महद् ब्रह्म तस्मिन् गर्भं दधाम्यहम् ।
संभवः सर्वभूतानां ततो भवति भारत ।। 3 ।।
सर्वयोनिषु कौन्तेय मूर्तयः संभवन्ति याः ।
तासां ब्रह्म महद्योनिरहं बीजप्रदः पिता ।। 4 ।।

APPENDIX XVI

DIVERSITY OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

Various forms of worship and rituals existed during the three periods of the Gītā. They are helpful for an understanding of the social and religious conditions of the periods. The list is given in an unclassified form.

Chapter	*Verses*	*Religious Practices*	*Significance*
I	40–43	Kula-dharma and Jāti-dharma	Piṇd-odakakriyā
II	31–33	Kṣātra-dharma	Swarga concept
	42–49	Vedic rituals and Yajñas	Yajña practices
III	8–16	Objectives of Yajña	Yajña for rains and food
IV	24–33	Yajña form—Dravya, Tapas, Yoga and Jñāna	Reform in concept of Yajña
V	1	Saṁnyāsa system	Non-action problem
VI	1	Karma—daily	Agni-hotra system
	10–28	Dhyāna Yoga	Dhyāna practices
VII	16	4 objectives of worship : ārta, jijñāsu, arthī, jñānī	Four types of worshippers of Kṛṣṇa
	20–23	Anya-devata, Tanu, Niyama	Deities, idols, forms of worship, rules,
VIII	8–16	Yogin's departure Last thought	Last thoughts and immortality
IX	14	Symbol worship—Idols	Devotional forms of
	15	Abstract worship	worship—two types
	16	Kṛatu and Yajña	Yajña forms
	17	Vedas—Ṛk, Sāma, Yajus	Atharvan excluded ?
	20–21	Yajña for Swarga	Belief in Swarga
	25	Objects of worship	Deities, ancestors, spirits
	26–34	Idol worship—by leaves, flowers and water	New forms of idol worship
	27	Dāna, Tapas,	Charity, penance
X	9	Meditation, discussion, sermons, songs—part of devotional worship	Group worship and prayers New easy forms—Change
	19–38	Mythological deities	Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śaṅkara, Rāma (Bhṛgu)

		Vedic deities	Indra, Agni, Varuṇa
		Sacred objects	Himālaya, Merū, Jāhnavī
		Japa, Mantra, Silence	and other sacred things
XI	17–46	Idol of Kṛṣṇa	Human form of God with weapons and crown
XII	3–5	Abstract worship	Different forms
	6–12	Dhyāna, Abhyāsa, Karma, other ways	Various paths to salvation
XIII	24–25	Dhyāna, Sāṅkhya, Karma, Other ways.	Various paths to salvation
XV	5	Adhyātma-nityāh	Constant self-meditation
	18	Puruṣottama worship	Vedic and popular
		Loke-Vede Prathitah	God—Puruṣottama
XVI	8	Anīśwaram jagat	Atheist school
	17	Nāma-Yajña	Outward formalities and hypocrisy
XVII	4	Three types of worship	Deities, demons, spirits—popular religion
	5–6	Ghora Tapas	Physical tortures for salvation—Tapas
	13–15	Vidhi-dṛṣṭa-Yajña	Vedic sacrifices with hymns, offerings, gifts
	23–24	Om-tat-sat	Verbal symbols for abstract ideas
	20–22	Three types of charity	Charity and gifts as parts of religion
XVIII	3–5	Yajña, Dāna, Tapas	Ideal religious life—Traditional and new forms
	45–46	Social duties as worship	Wider concept of religion Duty as worship
	49–53	Saṁnyāsa of fruit of action	Similarity to traditional Saṁnyāsa, Popularity
	62–66	Redemption through surrender to God	Optimism for the repentant—Devotion
	67–71	Study, preaching and listening —part of worship.	In-built plan for propagation of Gītā
			Different ways of expressing reverence

APPENDIX XVII

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